●113, 19 Gilyak RX2

[For information pertaining to the Gilyak language, see 22: Matthews, R1 Soviet Union, category 116; p. 9.]

/xii cont./

*114 terminology of that time). Shternberg met his first "native" at the Aleksandrovsk post, i.e., at the point of his initial deportation, three months after his arrival on Sakhalin. About the impression [117] that this meeting made on Shternberg, there is a characteristic entry in his diary for the twelfth of August, 1889: "I saw on the street an old Gilyak shaman in rags, with tousled gray hair and a foolish, good-natured-cunning smile on his face. Small boys surrounded him and shouted: 'Look at the old shaman, he will do some divining for you.' I approached. The old man, small in stature, with dignified gray hair, a high, powerful forehead, and a good-natured expression, stood helpless among them and looked at me. I departed from that sight with sadness..." Shternberg ends his entry in the diary with the significant sentence: "Some day I shall make a study of them" (1).

●[113] 1. "L. IA. Shternberg as a field ethnographer," in the periodical, Priroda i liudi, Nos. 17/18 and 19, p. 33, Leningrad, 1931.

Very soon, six months after this meeting with the Gilyak shaman, the Sakhalin administration "took the trouble" to give Shternberg the opportunity to study the Gilyak. Actually, due to his systematic attempts to defend his comrade -- political exiles, to whom corporal punishment and similar measures were beginning to be applied, he was sent in February, 1890, to the isolated cordon of Viakhtu, located 100 kilometers to the north of Aleksandrovsk in a half-deserted place on the shore of Tatar Strait. Here, in a walled-off corner of the hut-prison which he shared with his guards, Shternberg set up a "study" and began his ethnographic work. Not far (two kilometers) from the cordon there was a little Gilyak settlement which Shternberg started to visit often and to observe attentively the life of its inhabitants. Very soon, after thoughtful and extensive research, he succeeded in uncovering the peculiar family-clan structure of the Gilyak. Within the cordon itself, which was located near a thoroughfare, he first met even some Tungus who happened to be passing through.

/xii cont./

*114 Shternberg commenced a broader and a more systematic study of the Gilyak in the first part of February, 1891, when the administration, having learned of his work with the Gilyak, commissioned him to make a family census of the northwestern Gilyak of Sakhalin from the village of Arkyvo to Cape Marii.

/xiii/ During this trip Shternberg discovered group marriage and a classificatory system of kinship among the Gilyak. Parallel to this, he carefully studied the clan rules and religious views of the *114 127 Gilyak. It might be mentioned here that prior to his scientific research he had not even had the opportunity to become familiar with the basic works of that time on the ethnography of the Far East. This is what he writes in the preface to his "Materialy /Materials/": "Due to the conditions of my stay on Sakhalin, even Schrenck's work on the history and material culture of the Amur peoples remained inaccessible to me for a long time..." (1). From a careful analysis of Shternberg's literary heritage and of his first printed works, it is clear that at the time of his first trip to the Gilyak he had not had the opportunity to acquaint himself with either Schrenck's book, Ob inorodtsakh Amurskogo kraia /Concerning the Natives of the Amur Region/, or even Morgan's Ancient Society (Drevnee obshchestvo), Tylor's Pervobytnaia kul'tura /Primitive Culture/, or the other works on the history of primitive society. *114 121 127 On the other hand, his prison acquaintance with Engels' classic work was not wasted on him. There is no doubt but that it was thanks to this study that he was able in such an astonishingly short period to discover among the Gilyak group marriage and a classificatory system of kinship and, basically, to realize clearly [212] the full significance of this discovery. Thus, in a letter of the nineteenth of May to his good friend and companion-in-arms in

●[113] 1. Materialy po izucheniiu giliatskogo yazyka i fol'klora /Materials on the Study of Gilyak Language and Folklore/, Vol. I, p. viii, St. Petersburg, 1908, publication of the Academy of Sciences.

/xvi cont./

*114 least disturbed by the fact that "the view that the conditions of man s life are created by his ideas and notions, and not the other way around, is refuted by his whole history, in which, up to the present time, he has attained something a little different from what he wanted, and, in the long view, even the opposite in most cases" (1).

● [113] 1. F. Engels, Appendix to "Anti-Dühring," Collected Works of Marx and Engels /cited in Russian in the original text/, Vol. XIV, p. 364.

Thus, the distinctive feature of the subjectivists is the view that "the world of justice, the world of truth and right" stands "outside any relationship with the objective course of historical development, here -- 'justice,' there 'actuality,' and these /xvii/ two areas are separated one from the other by a whole gulf" (1), and

[113] 1. Plekhanov, "K voprosy o razvitii monisticheskogo vzglizda na istoriiu /On the Question of the Development of the Monistic View of History/," Collected Works /cited in Russian/, Vol. VII, p. 102.

therefore they could not explain the past or propose real means for changing the present.

From the above, the enormous role which the subjectivists ascribed to the "critically thinking" individuals in working out the ideals and directing history on the desired course becomes understandable. There is no objective criterion for such ideals, according to the views of the subjectivists, for the opinion of the majority cannot serve as a measure of truth (2). The subjective sociologists

2. From the Marxist point of view, such an understanding of objectivity is absurd. "Majority," "mob," etc. consist of people, but the views of

*114 /xviii/ study, the objective analysis of any kind of social relationships whatever (1).

● [113]

1. "Chto takoe 'druz'ia naroda' i kak oni voiuiut protiv sotsial-demokratof /What 'friends of the people' are and how they struggle against the Social Democrats/." Collected Works /cited in Russian/, Lenin, Vol. I, p. 74.

It has never occurred to the subjective sociologists, including L. IA. Shternberg, that "instead of study and explanation, such methods only give support to the concept of society either of the bourgeois ideas of the English huckster, or the narrow-minded socialistic ideals of the Russian democrat -- and nothing more" (2).

2. Ibid., p. 75.

And actually, their theory is merely an expression of the social ideas of the Russian petty-bourgeois intelligentsia of a particular period and has not advanced mankind a single step toward an understanding of real social relationships or of those which "correspond to human nature."

The desire of the subjective sociologists to lift themselves above the question of the class struggle and to examine all social phenomena from a superclass point of view of abstract justice is well known. Proceeding from this, the subjectivists waged a bitter battle with the Marxist understanding of the theory of the class struggle, in particular advancing a theory about the "artificiality" of capitalism in Russia and about the absolute possibility of passing from the rural obshchina /community/ of the nineteenth century to socialism. There is no class struggle in the works of Shternberg. All the questions there are examined from some kind of superclass point of view. As a characteristic example, one might offer the following lecture by Shternberg to the Gilyak upon their electing their judge: "A judge should be impartial to rich and poor, friend and foe, he must judge conscientiously" (3). But the facts of

/xviii cont./

*114
● [113]

3. Diary of the first trip to the Gilyak in February, 1891 (ms.).

[113]

4. Diary of the trip to the eastern Gilyak in June, 1891 (ms.).

exploitation among the Gilyak could nonetheless not have escaped even Shternberg, to which the following entry in one of his diaries bears witness: "These (Gilyak) kulaks exploit no less than the civilized ones" (4). We would look in vain, however, in his printed works for an exposition of how class differentiation and exploitation occur in the disintegrating clan society of the Gilyak. Moreover, an idealization of Gilyak society runs through all his works. Thus, in describing the Gilyak rich men (ysi), he says: what is the yz' if not that very same whole individual in his highest manifestation of individuality. The influence of the yz' is therefore purely /xix/ virtual, moral; there is no gulf between him and the poorest of his clansmen, either spiritually or economically, and at the same time the fraternal tie of the religious-social union of the clan dominates over all.

Well-known to us are the ridiculous attempts of the subjectivists to interpret Marxism as "economic materialism," as if it rejected all other aspects of social life except the economic aspect, in spite of the absolutely definite instructions of the founders of Marxism that there is no such automatic action of the economic situation as is sometimes imagined. Marxism does not reject the various aspects of social life, much less their interrelations, but shows that, in the final analysis, the decisive relationships are the economic ones. Finding the views of the Marxists one-sided, the subjective sociologists advanced their own theory about the interaction of these factors, not understanding that the interaction by itself explained nothing, but on the contrary required an explanation with the help of an objective criterion, which could only be the economic structure of society.

/xxi cont./

*114 the cultures of separate peoples, at whatever degree of development they stand" (1). "The sociology of peoples," in the words of Shternberg, "although it claims independent significance, when we scrutinize the circle of phenomena treated by it, it begins to seem to us that it does not constitute a science separate from ethnography" (2).

For us such a definition of ethnography is absolutely unacceptable, for in the view of Shternberg ethnography is transformed into sociology, and as such counterposes itself to historical materialism, the only scientific sociology.

In his definition of ethnography, Shternberg briefly expresses his views on culture and its evolution as well.

It is particularly necessary to note the views of Shternberg on culture as an object of ethnographic study. "Culture," says Shternberg, "is the sum of all the values created by man himself, by his intellect. From the psychological point of view, it is the product of individual discoveries and inventions, from the dynamic -- the product of the gradual accumulation of these inventions by all past generations. Culture is not the biological, but the social heritage of past generations, and therefore the level of culture depends exclusively on the number of inherited inventions and discoveries, and not on the evolution of the physical nature of man himself. We must consider as genuine cultural values only the discoveries and inventions in the form of knowledge and skills, but not those material objects in which they take form from time to time."

● [113]

1. Etnografiia i narodnoe khoziaistvo /Ethnography and the National Economy/" (ms.).

2. Ibid.

/xxi cont./

*114 Obviously, the idealistic essence of Shternberg's views on culture is set forth here, and therefore it need not be considered in more detail.

Shternberg, like the rest of the evolutionists, and also the subjective sociologists, regarded /xxii/ the dialectical method negatively, ascribing to Marxism the unoriginal application of the Hegelian triads, not understanding that "the dialectal method... is what Marx and Engels called nothing other than a scientific method in sociology, by which society is examined as a living organism in constant motion... for the study of which there must be an objective analysis of the relations of production which forms the given social formation, the study of the laws of its functioning and development" (1).

Shternberg considered it possible to limit himself merely to the application of the comparative method when studying social phenomena. The prevailing significance which he attributed to this method found vivid expression in his definition of ethnography as a science given above. In this connection, it is relevant to cite the words of Hegel on the relative significance of the comparative method. Considering an outline of several significant successes attained by comparative anatomy and comparative linguistics, Hegel says: "In spite of this, however, we must not only note that scientists have gone too far in supposing that this comparative method may be applied with equal success in all realms of knowledge, but we must especially stress as well that comparison by itself cannot give full satisfaction to scientific demands and that the results obtained by this method must be examined as merely preparatory, albeit essential works for a genuinely comprehensive knowledge" (2). And this is so, for by means of the comparative

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1. Lenin, op. cit., p. 93.

● [113]

2. "Entsiklopediia filosofskikh nauk /Encyclopedia of Philosophical Sciences/," Works of Hegel /cited in Russian/, Part I, Vol. I, Moscow-Leningrad, 1929, pp. 200-201.

/xxii cont./

*114 method it is impossible to uncover the essence of phenomena.

Shternberg's views on the development of culture are of considerable interest. "As a result of our comparative study of culture," he says, "ethnography leads us to the conclusion that the creative work of culture has proceeded, everywhere and always, according to the same laws, that human psychics are united in their creative work, that human culture is just as united as its creator -- humanity as a whole, and that all distinctions in culture are the result, not of psychic distinctions, but of distinctions in the geographical and historical conditions, purely external and of a changeable character." "The ideal of culture is collective creative work and the equal distribution of cultural values. Every culture has /xxiii/ a tendency toward distribution: the ultimate goal is universalism and the unity of human culture" (1).

● [113)

1. "Vvedenie v etnografiiu /Introduction to Ethnography/" (ms.).

This aim gave him the opportunity to wage a decisive struggle with the race theory in ethnology, maintaining the inequality of different races and peoples. On the other hand, in a number of cases precisely this aim allowed Shternberg to explain different social phenomena, to approach the point of view of dialectical materialism.

As the most eminent representative of the evolutionary school in Russia, Shternberg waged a battle with the reactionary culture-historical school, headed by Fathers Schmidt and Koppers, against its theory of diffusion (cultural borrowings), culture circles, and the existence of monotheism, individual marriage, and private property from the beginning. Speaking about Father, now Cardinal, W. Schmidt and his culture-historical views, Shternberg points out that "for many years he (Schmidt) has tendentiously propagandized these views in his influential journal, Anthropos, which, due to extensive means of publication, has been able to attract the collaboration of very outstanding ethnologists

/xxiii cont./

*114 as well as a large number of researcher-missionaries (2).

● 113 2. "Sovremennaia etnografiia /Contemporary Ethnography/," in the periodical, Etnografiia, Nos. 1-2, pp. 24-25, Moscow-Leningrad, 1926.

It would not be out of place to mention that, while staunchly defending his philosophical-evolutionalist aims, Shternberg waged a battle with the fashionable bourgeois theories of Marett (on preanimism), Levy Brühl (on prelogical thought), Freud (on the sexual basis of all social phenomena), etc. In this respect his materials have significant value even today.

Nevertheless we must consider as the most important aspect of the scientific work of Shternberg that he was one of the most prominent followers of the famous American ethnologist, L. Morgan, who rediscovered, in the words of Engels, the materialistic understanding of history. Shternberg reinforced and developed Morgan's theory with his remarkable discoveries of the classificatory system of kinship and group marriage among the peoples of the Far East, as well as with a number of his investigations in the realm of prehistory. As a Morganist, Shternberg was noticed even by Engels, who translated into German an account of one of his works and wrote him a personal letter, with which we shall deal later.

/xxiv/

III.

113 Having briefly acquainted ourselves with the theoretical views of L. IA. Shternberg and proceeding to a survey of his works on the study of the peoples of the Far East, it is necessary first of all to point out that to submit all these works to a detailed, critical examination is not permitted by the scope of the present article, and we shall consider only the most important features.

/xxiv cont./

113 Not all the works by Shternberg on the Far East have been published, and what has appeared is scattered through many journals and collections which are difficult to obtain at this time. Only the present edition, undertaken and executed on the initiative of the Community of the Far East, offers one the opportunity to become acquainted with Shternberg's most important works on the peoples of the Far East, including some manuscripts published for the first time.

The basic works of Shternberg on the ethnography of the Far East are: 1) "Sakhalinskie giliaki /The Sakhalin Gilyak/" (Etnograficheskoe Obozrenie, Bk. 2, Moscow, 1893); 2) "Orochi Tatarskogo proliva /The Orochi of Tatar Strait/" (a summary in the weekly Vladivostok, Nos. 47, 48, 50, and 51, 1896); 3) "Giliaki /The Gilyak/" (Etnograficheskoe Obozrenie, Bks. 60, 61, and 63, 1904; reprint, Moscow, 1905); 4) "Kul't inau u plemeni ainu /The Cult of inau among the Ainu/" (Ezhegodnik Russkogo Antropologicheskogo Obshchestva pri Peterburgskom Universitete, St. Petersburg, 1908); 5) "The Turano-Ganowanian System and the nations of the Nord-East Asia" (Proceedings of the XVIII International Congress of the Americanists, London, 1912); 6) "Divine election in primitive religions" (Proceedings of the XXV International Congress of Americanists, 1925; the Russian supplementary edition under the title, "Izbrannichestvo v religii /Election in Religion/," printed in Etnografiia, No. 1, 1927); 7) "Ainskaia problema /The Ainu Problem/" (posthumous work, printed in the Sbornik Muzeia Antropologii i Etnografii Akademii Nauk, Vol. VIII, Leningrad, 1929). Of these works, the following are not printed in the present edition: "The Turano-Ganowanian System" and "Izbrannichestvo v religii." Printed for the first time, however, are "Sotsial'naia organizatsiia giliakov /The Social Organization of the Gilyak/," "Gol'dy /The Goldi/" (unfinished account of the expedition of 1910) /untranslated/, and "Klassifikatsiia narodof Dal'nego Vostoka /The Classification of the Peoples of the Far East/."

/xxiv cont./

● 113 On the languages of the Far East, L. IA. Shternberg has published the following works: 1) "Obraztsy materialof po izucheniiu giliatskogo yazyka i fol'klora /Samples of Materials on the Study of the Gilyak Language and Folklore/" (Izvestiia Akademii Nauk, Vol. XIII, No. 4, St. Petersburg, 1900); 2) "Bemerkungen über die Beziehung zwischen der Morphologie der giljakischen und amerikanischen Sprachen /Remarks on the Relation between the Morphology of the Gilyak and American Languages/" /xxv/ (XIV Internationaler Amerikanisher Congress, Stuttgart, 1904); 3) Materialy po izucheniiu giliatskogo fol'klora i yazyka /Materials on the Study of the Gilyak Language and Folklore/, Vol. I, Part 1 (publication of the Academy of Sciences, St. Petersburg, 1908). The remaining unprinted materials on the Gilyak language and folklore are supposed to be published by the Academy of Sciences of the USSR. The following materials on the Tungus-Manchu languages from the linguistic legacy of Shternberg are printed in the present edition /but are not translated/: 1) "Orochskii etnograficheskii slovar' /Orochi Ethnographic Dictionary/," 2) "Gol'dskii etnograficheskii slovar' /The Goldi Ethnographic Dictionary/," with a grammatical note, 3) "Negidal'skii etnograficheskii slovar' /Negidal Ethnographic Dictionary/," 4) "Grammaticheskie zametki po negidal'skomu iazyku /Grammatical Notes on the Negidal Language/."

*114 From the description of the trips of L. IA Shternberg that we gave in the first section, we see that he carried out the greater part of his field research among the Gilyak, and accordingly his primary printed works on the ethnography and linguistics of the Far East are devoted to precisely that nationality.

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*114 The works of Shternberg on the Gilyak fall into two groups: one of them is devoted to questions on social structure and religious beliefs, the other to folklore and language. Of the works of the first group, the primary ones are: "Sakhalinskie giliaki," "Giliaki," "Turano-ganovanskaia sistema i narody severo-vostochnoi Azii" (1),

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1. Proceedings of the XVIII International Congress of the Americanists, London, 1912.

/xxv cont./

*114 and "Sotsial'naia organizatsiia giliakov" now appearing in print for ●113 the first time. In the first of the works listed, we find, in embryo, as it were, all that is given by him later in a more profound and exhaustive form in the remainder of the works listed.

*114 113 595 One must note, in particular, that in the first sketch, written in 1891, i.e., as a result of a comparatively brief period of observation, there is already a completely clear description of the group marriage and classificatory system of kinship discovered by him, and of the basic features of their clan structure, etc. Shternberg succeeded in sending the manuscript of this work to Moscow at the time, where it was first read in the form of a paper for the Society for the Study of Natural Science, Anthropology, and Ethnography (the tenth of October, 1892) by the secretary of the society, N. IA. IAnchuk. Just a few days after the paper, an account with a rather detailed exposition of Chapters I and II of the manuscript appeared in Russkie vedomosti. The novelty and the great theoretical significance of the material attracted widespread attention in scientific circles interested in the history of primitive society. /xxvi/ Friedrick Engels took an interest in this work as well; he was closely following Russian political and socio-scientific literature, and he published in Die Neue Zeit (XI Jahrgang, B. I, 1893) a complete translation of the newspaper account of the work of Shternberg, with his own introductory comments, under the title "Ein neuentdeckter Fall in der Geschichte der Ehe /A Newly Discovered Case in the History of Marriage/" (1). F. Engels attributed

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1. This article by Engels did not appear in Russian until 1922 in the appendix to Engels' book, Proiskhozhdenie sem'i, chastnoi sobstvennosti i gosudarstvo /The Origin of the Family, Private Property, and the State/, pp. 123-125, published by "Moskovskii rabochii" /The Moscow Worker/ in "Biblioteka kommunista" /The Library of the Communist/.

/xxvi cont./

*114 595 ●[113] especially great significance to the confirmation of the existence of group marriage in the Gilyak material. In view of the tremendous methodological significance, we present these remarks by Engels in full. "In recent times," he writes, "among certain rationalistic ethnographers, it has once again become fashionable to reject the existence of group marriage. Therefore the following account, which I translate from *Russkie vedomosti* (Moscow, the fourteenth of October, 1892, Old Style), is of great interest. It not only explicitly confirms the existence of group marriage, i.e., the right to mutual sexual intercourse between a certain group of men and group of women, but it gives an example of a form of it which closely borders upon the punalua marriage of the Hawaiians, i.e., the most developed classical form of group marriage. While the typical punalua family consists of a number of brothers (uterine or more distantly related) who are in marital cohabitation with a certain number of uterine or more distantly related sisters, we see on Sakhalin Island that a man is married to all the wives of his brothers and all the sisters of his wife, and this means, if we examine this phenomenon from the female point of view, that his wife has the right to sexual intercourse with the brothers of her husband and the husbands of her sisters. The distinction from the typical form of the punalua marriage is therefore only that the brothers of the husband and the husbands of the sisters are not necessarily the same people. I must note that this case confirms what I wrote in *Proiskhozhdenie sem'i* /The Origin of the Family/, 4th ed., pp. 28-29: "This group marriage hardly looks as terrible as the imagination of our Philistines, accustomed to prostitution and brothels, pictures it." "The savages living in group marriage certainly do not lead the dissipated life that these Philistines lead under the cover of secrecy.

/xxvii/ "This form of marriage (at least in the cases still met in practice) differs from a free pair-marriage or polygamy only in that sexual intercourse is permitted by morals in a number of cases which, under different conditions, involve stern punishment.
[178] The fact that the exercise of these rights is dying out in practice proves only that this form of marriage itself was long ago condemned to die out, as is confirmed by the infrequency of the traces of its existence."

/xxvii cont./

*114 595 "Furthermore, the whole matter is interesting in that it once again shows how similar or even identical the institutions of such primitive peoples at almost the same level of development are in their basic features. A large part of what is related in this account on Sakhalin is fully applicable to the Dravidian tribes of India, the inhabitants of the Pacific Islands, and, at the time of their discovery, the redskins."

*114 In conclusion Engels gives in full the translation of the newspaper account of Shternberg's article. Regarding the material uncovered from the newspaper account, F. Engels wrote L. IA. Shternberg a letter, as the latter told me in a private conversation. Unfortunately, the search for this letter, undertaken in the archives ● [113] of Shternberg, has as yet yielded no results. "Sakhalinskie giliaki" appeared in print in full in the journal Etnograficheskoe Obozrenie for 1893. In this work by Shternberg the strong influence of Engels' book, Proiskhozhdenie sem'i, chastnoi sobstvennosti, i gosudarstva, is felt. Engels' influence neutralized to a significant degree the psychological approach of Shternberg, and "Sakhalinskie giliaki" is undoubtedly the most materialistic work to come from his pen.

*114 601 595 Shternberg's discovery among the Gilyak of group marriage and a classificatory system of kinship, which, furthermore, preserved certain terms lost in less primitive systems, strikingly confirmed the views of Engels, who looked on group marriage as an explicit, universal step in the history of marriage, and on the classificatory system as a true indicator of the sexual norms that formerly existed. [171] The classificatory system of kinship among the Gilyak described by Shternberg turned out to be similar to the Turano-Ganowanian in type. Furthermore, "it is the best example of the Turanian system," says Shternberg himself, "besides being *114 the best preserved and giving the best correlation (1). With this

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1. "The Turano-Ganowanian System," p. 323.

/xxviii/ discovery Shternberg filled in the gap in the scientific literature on primitive social relations, for which there were no

/32 cont./

601 835 regular marriage, but preserve the rights to sexual intercourse even when the individuals of these categories are joined in an individual marriage. Being joined in a legitimate, as it were, individual marriage, the wife at the same time enjoys the right privately, i.e., in the absence of her husband, to have intercourse with persons of the group of men whom she calls pu, ivn (husband). Most often, of course, this right is exercised by the brothers of her husband, his own or of further degrees of kinship, living with him in the same village, but even men who have newly arrived, often complete strangers passing through the settlement by chance, if they regard themselves, even by the most distant kinship, as "pu" of the given woman, freely /33/ exercise this right, with, of course, the consent of the woman. During my travels over Sakhalin, my companions from the western shore, appearing with me in a distant settlement on the eastern shore of the island, in which neither they nor their fathers had ever been, but in which, according to their genealogical information, there lived a woman of the an'gej category, freely exercised their rights, when the husband was not in the yurt, of course. [171] This phenomenon is completely identical with what is said about the Australian kroki and kumiti, who will find a marital bed everywhere, even at the farthest points of their territory, on the condition that the husbands are kumi and the beautiful strangers are kroki.

171 835 In character, these norms of sexual intercourse most closely resemble the same such norms in the Australian Dieri tribe, among whom the two kinds of sexual intercourse mentioned are clearly registered by the terms noa and piruari (1). Among them each woman is joined in individual, legitimate marriage to a single man, and the spouses call each other noa; but at the same time she is joined in a group marriage with a whole category of men,

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[113] 1. "Australian Group Relations," by Howitt (Papers relating to Anthropology contrib. to the Smithsonian Institute, 1885), pp. 12 f.

174 /45 cont./ But the details that I
582 have attempted to clarify here and the history of the develop-
601 ment of the institution which I sketched are capable, I think,
of shedding light on certain phenomena of primitive marriage
which heretofore have been completely isolated and separate.

171 1) First of all, the clan organization of the Gilyak makes
174 completely clear to us why among many peoples, as, for ex-
582 ample, among the Batak on Sumatra, a wife or a mistress is
601 called "a son of the father's sister" -- ibibere-ri-datang; or
614 among the Gond (Gondy) of the province of Satpûras in central
India where a marriage between male cousins and female
cousins is almost compulsory when the brother has a daughter
and the sister a son. These separate facts remained unexplained
up to now and are, therefore, perhaps fragments of a once
common clan organization similar to the one that I found
among the Gilyak (1).

[114] 1. It is remarkable that up to the present time some scientists are skeptical of even the actual fact of the discovery of marriage norms identical with those of the Gilyak. Thus, quite recently it was discovered that among the Hottentot marriage is permitted between a man and the daughter of his mother's brother and, conversely is forbidden between a woman and a son of her mother's brother (exactly as among the Gilyak), while Kohler, presenting this fact, and the author of the article on Kohler's work in Année Sociologique both doubt the possibility of such norms, even though they were known to McLennan. See J. Kohler,
● [113] "Das Recht der Hottentots," in Zeitschrift f. vergleich. Rechtswissenschaft, Vol. XVI, No. 3, pp. 341-342, and L'Année Sociologique, 11th year, p. 306.

/118 cont./

* 614 But who are these authoritative individuals who appear on the
556 scene in special cases and either personally or together with the
554 "village community" of their clansmen display, as those having the power, their initiative and energy? What role do they play in ordinary life?

They are the so-called yz' -- the "masters" (1), or otherwise the urdlya-nivukhi -- the good, i.e., the rich, outstanding men (good and rich are synonomous among all primitive peoples). These are individuals who enjoy outstanding prosperity, thanks to their exceptional individual talents -- bravery, dexterity, strength, enterprise, and intelligence, which place them in an advantageous position in the business of obtaining the means of subsistence. Such an individual is a valuable man for all around him. For the narrow circle of his own family he is the natural head of the communal economy, which, thanks to his initiative and talents, is run more profitably than if it were conducted haphazardly. /119/ The huge family grouped around him is better provided with

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1. Up to the present, little attention has been focused on the role of such persons in the structure of primitive societies. Their role is obscured by their being classified only as representatives of wealth. [171] ● [113] Here is one of the most recent examples of such a relation. Separate classes of "nobles" and "commoners" do not exist in northwestern California, but in almost all affairs of life the rich man plays the most important role ("Types of Indian Culture in California," by A. L. Kroeber, University of California Publications, June, 1904, Vol. II). One should be grateful, however, that such facts have been noted at all.

114 /129 cont./ This appeared so obvious TO
595 him that he explains the opposing view of Siebold, too categorically affirmed, it is true, based on the report of the eighteenth century Japanese traveler Mamio Rinso /Rinzô Mamiya/, that "the northwestern shore of Sakhalin (i.e., the territory of the Gilyak) is the only country in the world where polyandry, by force of law or custom, is practiced" (1), not by the inaccuracy of the observations of Mamio Rinso, whom he considers an excellent observer, but by his personal bitterness against the Gilyak because the Gilyak women compelled him to perform manual labor like all the other men (2). "Among the Gilyak," says Schrenck in conclusion, "neither on Sakhalin nor on the continent, nor anywhere else, does polyandry exist."

● [113] 1. Siebold, Nippon, VII, p. 169.

2. "Not wishing to accuse Mamio Rinso of pure fictionalizing," says Schrenck, "we cannot refrain from assuming that he was motivated by personal reasons, which, muddling his testimony, gave ground for various interpretations... Vanity and the fear of lowering himself in the eyes of the government (on account of his servile position) impelled the traveler to explain his humiliating position among the Gilyak by the custom of their country" (i.e., polyandry and the domination of women). Schrenck, Ob inorodtsakh Amurskago kraia /Concerning the Natives of the Amur Region/, 1903, Vol. III, p. 19. [113]

/130 cont./

58 agnates, the father or her brothers; she makes her permanent
[591] residence in his home, follows him in his journeyings and emigrations, and before all the world is considered the personal
wife of the Gilyak who purchased her and the mother of his
59 children. The children belong exclusively to the father and
[851] succeed him after his death. After the birth of the first child,
husband and wife cease to call themselves by their former
[551] names and begin to be called by the name of the newborn
[553] ("the father of so-and-so, the mother of so-and-so" --
teknonymy). The exclusive rights of the husband to his wives
[684] apparently are sanctioned by the right of retribution, even
bloody retribution, upon the infringer on his conjugal rights.
[614] The clan is based on the principle of agnation, exogamous
marriage. One can travel over the whole territory of the Gilyak, live in their yurts, long observe their family life, and note nothing extraordinary. In the large winter yurts, the inhabitants occupy their places by families, each living with regard to its own particular interests. Between husband and wife or wives and their children, harmony and tender /131/ relations prevail. Cases of a striking attachment between spouses are not infrequent; when one of them dies, the other sometimes lays hands on himself or dies of grief.

*601 In a word, to all appearances we are dealing here with a
121 type of individual family which is generally accepted as being
125 patriarchal and in any case not polyandrous. Such were my
[59] own personal impressions at first. But my first inquiries in the
realm of kinship nomenclature awoke serious doubts in me, and I therefore determined first of all to make a detailed study of this aspect of their relations. The study of the kinship nomenclature, it appeared to me, could be most successfully accomplished by a systematic census of the population. With
[114] this objective, I undertook during the winter of 1891 my first
census of the Gilyak villages on the western shore of northern Sakhalin, and as a result I discovered their complex classificatory system of kinship and their peculiar form of group marriage (1).

● [113] 1. At the time the account of this was

114 /131 cont./
*601 presented by the author to the
121 Moskovskoe obshchestvo liubitele
125 estestvoznaniia /Moscow Society of
● [113] Friends of Natural Science/ and appeared under the title "Sakhalinskie giliaki /The Sakhalin Gilyak/" in 1893 in the organ of this society, Etnograficheskoe Obozrenie (1893, Book 2). In the foreign press there was a review of this article by Friedrich Engels in Die Neue Zeit, 1892-93, XI Jahrgang, B. I.

Subsequent censuses in other districts of the Gilyak territory (1891-94) gave me a full and comprehensive picture of their kinship nomenclature and sexual relations, with all their variants, in the different clans and dialects. In particular, during these years I succeeded in becoming acquainted with the unique family structure among the Sakhalin Ainu, sharply differentiated by the typical peculiarities of their maternality /materniteta/. In 1895 and 1896 I investigated in the same respect the Tungus tribes of the Priamur krai /the Amur region/, where I discovered a fully developed classificatory system of kinship resembling that of the Gilyak, but differing significantly from the latter. Thus I gathered sufficient material for a comprehensive comparison of both the kinship terminology and the clan-family mode of life of all the representatives of the Priamur krai.

*601 121 In view of the extreme importance of the kinship terminology for an understanding of the whole structure of the family and clan of the Gilyak, and in view of the extensive disputes that have recently arisen in scientific circles over the classificatory system of kinship and its significance, I consider it necessary to survey it in all its details.

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*601 [177] Only in one case does pilang, in the form pila n'ig:yvyn or pilang, appear as a kinship term -- namely, in the meaning of younger brother of the father; the synonym ytk -- father -- is a term that has evidently been made up under the influence of the Tungus term a'ga.

*601 193 Plural kinship terms. Due to the classificatory system there has developed the custom of using the plural for such terms as father, mother, wife in reference to a single individual, for example, "n'i ytkuntokh vind" -- "I am going to my fathers" (i.e., to the village where the class of the speaker's fathers lives, even though his own father may no longer be alive); "pytkun lo pymkkhun lo aryr:" -- "I fed my fathers and mothers."

/146/ Owing to the frequent use of such terms in the plural, a rather curious phenomenon has resulted. In the first place, they have also begun to use the plural a great deal in those cases where by the sense the reference is to only one person, for example: instead of "cher: shaktokh vind?" -- "where did thy father go?" they often say, "cher:kyn shaktokh vind?" -- "where did thy fathers go?" Another example: "aka, pytkhun kherja!" -- "O, elder brother, notify our fathers (1)!" I shall introduce one more characteristic example

● [113] 1. L. Shternberg, Materialy po izucheniiu giliatskogo iazyka i fol'klora /Materials for the Study of the Gilyak Language and Folklore/, I, p. 13, line 173. Petersburg, 1908. Published by the Academy of Sciences.

[538] from one of the texts taken down by me (2). The hero of a

2. Ibid., p. 85, lines 108-109; p. 86, lines 120-122.

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relationship of pu and an'g:ej toward each other (1).

1. This fact radically refutes the assertion of Westermarck, Crawley, and others that the prohibition of marriage between brothers and sisters arises from an instinctive sexual aversion created by living intimately together. Crawley cites in this respect the categorical assertion of Ellis (see "Exogamy and the Mating of Cousins," Anthropological Essays, Oxford, 1907, p. 52).

● [113]

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2) The above-mentioned principle created in the persons of the daughters of the brother a permanent pool of women for each man, but this measure was inadequate for the satisfaction of the objective for which it was created; corresponding norms of distribution were necessary in order to guarantee peace between the possessors of the group of women. It is first of all clear that the norms of distribution could not be exclusively individual or exclusively communal. Communal possession, as a general rule, would have evoked endless discord; a purely individual arrangement was not always possible because of the inevitable fortuitousness in the distribution of men and women, especially within the limited sphere of a few families. The norms to be worked out, therefore, had to be of such a nature that they could give satisfaction in the face of any combination.

The individual mode of distribution, of course, would be the most satisfactory, but it requires an equal distribution of the sexes, which is not always possible, especially within the limited sphere of a few families. The norms of distribution under such conditions had to be a compromise between the communal and the individual mode, in order to satisfy any combination of the distribution of the sexes.

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582 Works of recent times, in particular those of Rivers,
*174 Crawley, and Frazer, in connection with the work of their
121 predecessors in the field of Australian and Dravidian mar-
114 riage, such as Fison and Howitt, Spencer and Gillen, Kohler,
171 and others, revealed not only the picture of the broad distribution of this form of marriage at the present time (1),

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1. This picture entitled Crawley to say that "cousin marriage generally is the favorite form of marriage among primitive peoples" ("Exogamy and the Mating of Cousins," Anthropological Essays, Oxford, 1907, p. 57).

but on the basis of examples of Australian marriage they proved without a doubt that cousin marriage was the first experience of conscious restriction of marriages between brother and sister, and that all further evolution of marriage represented a series of gradual limitations on marriages be-
582 tween cousins of the first degree. One cardinal question in
*174 this problem still, one might say, remains open. This is
114 the question of why /215/ cousin marriage demands mar-
121 riage between the children of brother and sister, but at the same time prohibits marriage between the children of two brothers or between the children of two sisters. Only Rivers directly refuses to find an explanation for this striking fact. "Cousin marriage," he says, "is, according to all appearances, a survival. It is quite difficult to find a straightforward psychological basis explaining why marriage between the children of a brother and a sister is desired, while marriage between the children of two brothers or two sisters is so strictly prohibited" (1).

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1. "Marriage /of/ Cousins in India," The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, July, 1907, p. 623.

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114 This type of one-sided cousin marriage, so simply explained in the light of the evolution of more ancient forms of cross-cousin marriage, has attracted no attention at all from the investigators. Many scientists have even regarded this institution with disbelief, considering it implausible. Thus, almost at the same time as my publication on this [171] institution among the Gilyak (in 1901), the noted scientist Kohler in his article, "Das Recht der Hottentots /The Law of the Hottentot/" (1), ascertaining, in the words of his correspondent, the existence of just such an institution among that tribe, regards this report with distrust. The cause of this distrust is quite simple. Not knowing the genesis of this institution and the place occupied by it in the evolution of cousin marriage, and having no other examples of this institution besides its remnants in the marriage prohibitions, it was difficult to comprehend the cause of the one-sided prohibition by which the son of a sister can marry the daughter of a brother, but the daughter of a sister may not marry the son of her brother, although the degree of closeness of blood kinship in both cases is identical; and therefore the one-sidedness of the prohibition was viewed rather as an anomaly than as a normal sign of a living institution.

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[114] Due to such disbelief on the part of investigators, this institution is completely disregarded in treatises on human marriage and has remained completely misunderstood, while ethnographic literature gives quite a bit of information on its broad distribution among the most diverse peoples. Especially numerous traces of it are found in Indonesia and among the Dravidian peoples of India, among whom Morgan found the most clearly expressed form of the Turanian system, in which group marriage was preserved. As we just saw,

● [113] 1. In Zeitschrift für vergleichende Rechtswissenschaft, B. XVI, pp. 341-342.

/222 cont./

582 Kohler's correspondent reports on it from Africa among the
* 174 Hottentot. From Indonesia, such an authoritative investigator
171 as Wilken reports on it, writing: "Among the Batak, the Redjang (Rejangs) and the natives of Amboina, it is permissible for the son of a sister to marry the daughter of a brother, but the son of a brother may not marry the daughter of a sister" (2).

● [113)

2. Wilken, Bijdranjen /Contributions/, Serie Y, V. I, p. 148.

The kinship terminology corresponds to this arrangement: among the Batak on Sumatra, for example, a wife or female sweetheart is called ibibere-re-datang, i.e., daughter of the mother's brother.

This institution was already recorded in still more definite form in the 1870's among the Dravidian tribes of India. Thus, for example, in the Song and Bygar tribes of the province of Satpûras in central India, marriage between cousins is compulsory when /223/ the brother has a daughter and the sister a son. Many data may be found in the most recent literature by Rivers (1).

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1. "Marriage of cousins in India, Jour. Royal Asiat. Society, July, 1907, p. 626 pass.

/226 cont./

601 Among the Gilyak the terms "husband" and "wife" --
*835 *pu* and *an'g:ej* -- embrace all persons united by group mar-
114 riage, which thus still more confirms the truth of Morgan's
interpretation of the kinship terms.

114 /227/ *Elucidation of several terms of the Turano-Ganowanian*
601 *system which appeared inexplicable to Morgan.* In the light
171 of cousin marriage, several terms of kinship in the Turano-Ganowanian system become understandable to us. For example, Morgan was very confused by, and even regarded as inexplicable, why, among the Tamil, I, a man, call the children of my male cousins (considering as such the children of the sister of my father and of the brother of my mother without distinction) nephews and nieces, but I call the children of my female cousins sons and daughters. At the same time, among the Seneca-Iroquois exactly the reverse of this rule prevails. In his *Consanguinity and Affinity* he considers this fact inexplicable: "The discrimination of degrees of the cousin relationship," he says "is a remarkable fact in the Tamilian system. It is now found only in some systems of the Turanian family. From the structure and principles of the Turanian system, as I have already shown earlier with regard to the Ganowanian system, it follows inevitably that in its further development this relationship would be applied and restricted to the children of a brother and sister. *It was probably unknown in the primitive system*... It is the only particular in which it differs materially from the form of the family among the Seneca-Iroquois. In this respect, this last logically agrees more with the principles of the Turanian system than the Tamilian system. It is difficult to find any explanation for this difference" (1).

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1. Morgan, *Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity of the Human Family*, 1871 p. 391.

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114 Subsequently, in Ancient Society, Morgan found an ex-
601 planation for this fact.
171 "This shows," he says, "that among the Tamil, at the time when the Turanian system was introduced, all my female cousins were my wives, while at the same time this did not apply to the wives of my male cousins" (2).

• [113] 2. Morgan, Ancient Society, 1877, p. 444 (Russ. trans., Pervobytnoe obshchestvo, p. 427).

114 It did not even occur to Morgan that the whole Turanian
601 system was based on this principle. This peculiarity, how-
*174 ever, is precisely the result of the primitive system of cross-
171 cousin marriage, from which the Turanian system also de-
*835 veloped. Under cross-cousin marriage, marriage between the children of brother and sister is the only form of marriage, and such male and female cousins accordingly call themselves "husband" and "wife." That the Turanian system is the result of cousin marriage is evident also from other terms, which /228/ must have been inexplicable to Morgan and which he does not even bring up, not having found an explanation for them. For example, among the Tamil, if "I" am a man, then the wife of my sister's son is my "daughter" (as in the Gilyak and Australian terminology); the husband of my sister's daughter is my "son" (as in the Australian cousin marriage); the husband of my father's sister's daughter is my "brother" (as in the Gilyak and Australian terminology); the father of my wife is my "father-in-law" and "uncle" (father-in-law and brother of the mother among the Gilyak, father-in-law and brother of the father or mother among the Australians); the mother of my wife is my "mother-in-law" and "aunt" (aunt and father's sister among the Gilyak, mother-in-law and father's sister or mother's sister among the Australians); my brother's wife is my "female cousin" (i.e., a daughter of my mother's brother or of my father's sister); and, finally, the "wife" of a son of my father's sister, and

/346 cont./

222 The Gilyak cut down a whole bird-cherry plant for the cherries, but "if blood (red juice) comes, they quit.

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The Sakhalin Gilyak (1)

1. The present article was published in Etnograficheskoe Obozrienie, 1893, No. 2. It was discussed at that time by F. Engels in an article in Die Neue Zeit. Ed.

I.

101

The Origin of the Gilyak and Features of Their External Life

Like the Ainu, in whose language the word "ainos" means "man," the Sakhalin Gilyak, too, call themselves "nivukh," which means: man, master, Gilyak (2). Their customary name,

2. The Amur Gilyak call themselves "yavese."

"Gilyak," was, in my opinion, formed from the distortion by travelers of the word "kile," which means "Tungus" in the language of the Amur Gilyak, with whom travelers first had contact. And such a distortion could very easily have occurred because the Gilyak of the lower reaches of the Amur speak the same language as the Tungus, who, according to their legends, form one "people" with the Gilyak, the Goldi, and the Orochon. It is also quite possible that because of the common language of the Amur Gilyak and the Tungus, the Manchu, who formerly ruled the Amur region, called the Gilyak and the Tungus by a common name, "kile." But the ease with which national antagonisms

G SS 121 128 /8 cont./
Finally, by constantly keeping the entire region before our eyes, it may also lead to a more complete ethnographic picture of it.

G SS 126 128 The accompanying plates are also arranged in accordance with this treatment of the subject. I still have a few words to say about them beforehand. Since the Academy sent a draftsman with me, my aim was to give as clear and detailed a picture as possible of the life of the Amur peoples and everything connected with it, their dwelling, clothing, their household, hunting and fishing apparatus, their tombs, idols, and the like, by means of drawings, too. Concerning certain things in particular, such as, for example, the degree of skill shown by these peoples in making their utensils, the taste expressed in the decoration of their implements as well as their clothing, the possible influence on this from foreign, Chinese, /9/ and Japanese patterns, no judgment can be formed without the illustrations. A clear, concrete idea of the total being and doings of a people, however, can certainly be obtained only with a certain completeness of pictorial representations. It therefore did not seem proper to me to be too frugal with the number of these illustrations or to omit them wherever in earlier travel accounts, on the occasion of discussing G SS [127] other and especially Siberian peoples, similar, though at times rather crude representations are found. For the same reason I have only in rare cases taken note of the illustrations, neat as they are, which are found in the rather inaccessible atlas of Mr. Maack's /Maak/ trip in the Amur region, and all the more since the work concerned (1) contains no ethnographic text, but only

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1. Puteshestvie na Amur", soversh. po rasporiazheniiu Sibirsk. Otdiela Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch. v" 1855 g. R. Maakom" /A Journey to the Amur, completed by R. Maak under the auspices of the Siberian Section of the Imperial Russian Geographic Society in 1855/, St. Petersburg, 1859.

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of the natives themselves, in part according to the observations of other travelers, and at the same time to give a total picture of the geographic distribution of the Amur peoples. Let us now go over these areas individually and in detail with regard to their location and limit.

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/13/ The Gilyak live in the extreme northeast of the Amur region: the lowermost part of the Amur River, the Amur-Liman, and adjoining coast of the Sea of Okhotsk, and the northern half of Sakhalin Island. Along the Amur, going downstream, the area of the Gilyak begins with the villages of Chjare on the right bank and Tlals on the left bank, at a distance of about 175 versts from the mouth of the Amur. From there their dwelling sites at the beginning extend only along the right bank, but later, from the last bend of the Amur toward the east, on both banks of it to the Liman. The Amur-Liman is inhabited entirely by Gilyak, a purely Gilyak waterway. Southward from the mouth of the Amur along the coast of the mainland is Tschomi, located on the small river of the same name, the last Gilyak village, beyond which, along Mamia-Rinsô Strait, there extends an uninhabited territory visited by the Gilyak only for hunting and fishing. To the north of the mouth of the Amur the dwelling sites of the Gilyak extend beyond the Liman along the coast of the Sea of Okhotsk. To be sure, Kulj or Kolj is said to be the last place there permanently inhabited by the Gilyak, but Gilyak also live even farther, at least temporarily, for the purposes of hunting, seal-hunting, and fishing. According to Poplonskij, for instance, they supposedly come at times to Konstantinov Harbor in Ulban Bay (1).

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1. Poplonskii, Zap. Gidrogr. Depart., Vol. VI, St. Petersburg, 1848, p. 98.

Middendorff, too, became acquainted with Gilyak there and even farther to the west along Tugur Gulf. The extreme limit of his journey eastward, a promontory in Ulban Bay, bears in

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361 his work (2) the name Cap Gilyak, presumably after the inhabitants, even though temporary, of the region. Along the Ulban River, three versts above its mouth in the bay of the same name, he came upon a Gilyak settlement consisting of two winter houses and a summer house; one and a quarter versts to the east of it, another summer house (3). The last farthermost dwelling sites of the Gilyak to the northwest lie along the Sea of Okhotsk, but in Tugur Gulf. Across the narrow, low isthmus, which, stemlike, connects the Ssegneka /Seneka/ Peninsula with the mainland, runs a towpath made out of logs laid against one another, which, according to Middendorff, is designated even on an old map dating from the last century under the name "Gilyak towpath" (Gilyatskaya perevoloka) and was used by the Gilyak and Tungus to transport their boats, usually with the help of dogs, from Akademii Gulf (on Konstantinov Bay) to Tugur Gulf, and thus avoid the laborious and dangerous rowing around the long Ssegneka Peninsula with its steep, rocky banks. Along this towpath Middendorff saw the frames used for drying fish among the Gilyak and a Gilyak summer house standing at the end of it at Wolok Bay in Tugur Gulf (4). Somewhat farther south and on the last-named bay there were also two of their winter houses (5). Finally,

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●[113] 2. Maps-atlas with Middendorff's Reise in den äussersten Norden und Osten Sibiriens /Journey in the Extreme North and East of Siberia/, 1859, Pl. XVII.

[113] 3. Middendorff, Reise in den äuss. Nord. u. Osten Sibir., Vol. IV, p. 126.

4. Op. cit., pp. 116, 117.

5. Ibid., p. 125.

/13 cont./

131 361 somewhat farther south and /14/ west, where the Tugur empties and shortly before that receives the Kutin River, he found seven Gilyak huts along with three Tungusic birch tents. These were the first occupied dwellings that Middendorff encountered after leaving the mouth of the Udj (1). Orlof, too, coming along the seacoast from Ajan /Ayan/ in the year 1849, met the first Gilyak at the mouth of the Tugur (2). Here, then, is the extreme northwest boundary of the Gilyak region, beyond it, up to the Udj, stretches an uninhabited territory through which probably only the Tungus roam.

131 On the island of Sakhalin and especially along its west coast the area of distribution of the Gilyak extends much farther to the south than on the mainland. There the Gilyak population extends from the northernmost tip, through the Amur-Linman, [361] and far into the northern part of the Sea of Japan. Their southernmost point along this coast is the village of Pilja-wo near

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[113] 1. *Op. cit.*, p. 124. The Gilyak met by him along the Ulban River, on the Ssegneka Peninsula, and at the mouth of the Tugur are also mentioned in Middendorff's preliminary travel account (*Bull. de la cl. phys.-math. de l'Acad. des sc.* Vol. IV, p. 233; also *Beitr. zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reichs*, ed. by Baer and Helmersen, Vol. IX, Part 2, pp. 615, 616).

[113] 2. Cf. P. Tikhmen'ev", *Istor. obozr. obrazov. Ross.-amerikansk. Kompanii* /Historical Survey of the Formation of the Russian-American Company/, St. Petersburg, 1863, Part II, p. 64.

131 report (5), one and a half days' journey north of Cape Delisle de la Croyère, but, according to the statements that he made to Fr. Schmidt upon looking through his journals (6), "behind" the large cape of rock mentioned, which among the Gilyak bears the name Harpach (7). At any rate, on the east coast of Sakhalin the southern border of the Gilyak territory thus lies close to Cape Delisle de la Croyère, that is, /15/ about 51° north latitude, or

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131 36 [103] [114] /14 cont./ 4. (cont.) I cannot accept the version "Tschamgwo," as given on the Schebunin map of Sakhalin.

● [113] 5. Izviestiia Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Vol. V, 1869, Sec. II, pp. 308, 311.

[113] 6. Petermann's Geogr. Mittheil., 1870, p. 387.

[103] 7. Following Lopatin, Schmidt gives the Gilyak name of Cape Delisle de la Croyère as "Harpa." There is no doubt about the ending sounding like, not "pa," but "pach," since the latter is often repeated in Gilyak place names and means "rock" or "stone." I suspect, however, that the first syllable, too, is not rendered quite correctly, and that the cape is not called "Harpa," but "Tschcharpach," that is, "wood-" or "forest-rock" -- a name which occurs also at the mouth of the Amur.

/15 cont./

131) one degree more to the north than on the west coast of the island (1). Finally, besides the two coasts the interior of Sakhalin is also populated by the Gilyak, and to be sure, it is the large Tymy River, rich in fish, along which, up to its source, a relatively dense Gilyak population lives. This, however, cuts off the area of the Gilyak, because to the south, along the perhaps even larger Ty River, as it is called among the Gilyak, or Poronai as it is called among the Ainu (2), there is a permanent population only on the lower course and at the mouth, and this populati[illegible] aside from scattered, individual members, is no longer Gilyak.

If one surveys the total area of distribution of the Gilyak, one finds that for the most part it extends along the sea, the Sea of Okhotsk, the northern part of the Sea of Japan, and the Amur-Liman, and then also along two great rivers, the Amur on the mainland and the Tymy on Sakhalin -- a circumstance

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[114] 1. The above-named villages, and especially the last one, Tschamr-wo, are therefore to be moved somewhat more to the south than is shown on my first map.

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[113] 2. That is, "great river." It is the "Newa" of Krusenstern Reise um die Welt /Journey around the World/ St. Petersburg, 1811, Vol. II, p. 95). On Schebunin's above-mentioned map, as in Glehn's travel report from Sakhalin Island (Beitr. zur Kenntn. der Russ. Reichs, edited by Baer and Helmersen, Vol. XXV, pp. 205, 235 ff.) this river is also called Plyi -- a name which, according to Glehn, is likewise a Gilyak one.

RX2
Ainu AB6
Goldi RX3
Orok

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101 It is different from the Amur on the Liman and along the
coast of the northern part of the Sea of Japan, in that there on
the mainland, between the Gilyak and Orochi areas, there is a
considerable stretch of uninhabited territory, which -- for reasons
that we shall touch on later -- keeps the two peoples strictly
Gi separated. On Sakhalin, however, with regard to the Ainu and
A Orok, there is repeated, and in part to an even greater degree,
101 what we have seen on the Amur and on the Sea of Okhotsk. On
A the west coast of the island some permanent Ainu families have
G 101 mixed with the Gilyak even before they reach their southern
162 boundary. For example, it was said, as the Gilyak in Arkai told
361 me, that of the villages south of Duï, Adngi was still purely
103 Gilyak, Kthëus contained two Gilyak and one Ainu yurt, Chogranj
again was inhabited only by Gilyak, and, finally, Pilja-wo was
A inhabited half by Gilyak and half by Ainu (4). The latter /17/

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4. Coming from the north, Schmidt, too, met the first Ainu in Kthëus, which, moreover, at that time consisted of only two miserable yurts. He likewise calls Chogranj
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(114) an Ainu settlement ("Histor. Ber.," etc., op. cit., pp. 65, 66). Again, however, I cannot agree with the version of the names for the above-mentioned places, "Ktausi," "Chokkoran," and "Pil-wo," on Schebunin's map.

place bears among the Ainu the designation "Poro-kotan," with
G the same meaning as its Gilyak name, "Pilja-wo," that is,
361 "big village" (1). Beyond this place the coast is uninhabited for
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(113) 1. Rudanofskij, too (Vostochnoe Pomor'e /Eastern Seaboard/, 1866, p. 96), calls Poro-kotan or (Gilyak) "Pile-wo" the first Gilyak village as one approaches from the

Ainu AB6
Goldi RX3
Orok

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/17 cont./ 1. (cont.) south. He counted ten yurts. The Gilyak named only three to me, which makes the designation of the place appear somewhat uncalled for. According to Schmidt, however (op. cit., p. 67), it is said to have actually been a large village in former times, but in his time there were still only three poor yurts. Mizul's statement (Ocherk" ostr. Sakhalina v" sel'skokhoziaistv. otnosh. /Sketch of Sakhalin Island from the Point of View of Agriculture/, St. Petersburg, 1873, p. 129) that there are no longer any Ainu north of Pilja-wo (Porokotan) is therefore not quite correct, according to the above.

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361 a long stretch and is only temporarily visited by the Gilyak for their livelihood. Schmidt, for instance, on the river Arokonai, between the capes Tribis and Tunai, met a Gilyak who had been seal-hunting near Otta-endu (2). Occasionally it also

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2. Schmidt, "Histor. Ber.," op. cit., p. 71.

happens that Gilyak on trading trips to Ssiranussi, at the southern point of Sakhalin, are obliged to stay somewhere for the winter, and in this case they may easily be taken for permanent inhabitants of the place. The border conditions on the east coast of Sakhalin are more complicated than on the west coast, in that three peoples, Gilyak, Ainu, and Orok, come together there (3). To be sure, the area of the first, as we saw above, ends

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3. See my travel report in the Bull. de la cl. physico-mathém. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc., de St. Pétersb., Vol. XV, p. 171; Mél. phys. et chim. tirés du Bull., Vol. III, p. 11.

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RX2
Goldi RX3
Orok.
Orochi
Ainu AB6

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174
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/21 cont./
words in explanation of it, as well as point out several analogous phenomena in the eastern part of Siberia.

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If we now sum up the ethnographic picture of Sakhalin, there are, aside from the Japanese and Russians, three peoples of quite different tribes, Gilyak, Ainu, and Orok, who share the possession of this island in the very unequal manner described above. Certainly a rich ethnographic assemblage in view of the, to be sure, great length, but only very small breadth! Through the Gilyak the island is joined to the coasts of the Sea of Okhotsk and the mouth of the Amur River, through the Orok to the rest of the Amur region with its Tungusic population, and, finally, through the Ainu, to Jesso /Yesso/, the Kuriles, and Japan (1).

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1. See my travel report in the *Bulletin de la classe physico-mathématique de l'Académie Impériale des sciences*, Vol. XIV, p. 186; *Mélanges phys. et chim.*, Vol. II, p. 449.

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Let us now return again from Sakhalin to the mainland, and, if we go southward from the borders of the Gilyak area already known to us, we first strike the area of distribution of the Orochi on the seacoast. In its farther reaches this includes the entire continental coast along the northern part of the Sea of Japan, the coastal mountains (Ssichota-alin /Sikhote-Alin/), the upper course of the rivers running from these mountains to the lower Amur and to the Ussuri, and the sources of those streams. Along the seacoast, however, the Orochi territory does not directly join that of the Gilyak, but rather between the two there is a wide stretch of uninhabited country, since the last, southernmost place of the Gilyak is Tschomi on the Liman, while the first, northernmost point of the Orochi is Nangmar or de Castries /De-Kastri/ Bay. Between the two and only slightly north of the last-named bay there is the ancient trade route to the sea used

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RX2
Goldi RX3
Orochi
Olcha

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Gi /21 cont./
361 by the Olcha, Goldi, and probably now and then also the Gilyak,
101 which leads from Lake Kidsi /Kizi/ to Taba Bay and, regarded
[487] to some extent as international, perhaps has acted as a barrier to the reciprocal spread of peoples. Moreover, the Orochi population on the coast is so sparse that there probably was no reason for them to advance northward beyond de Castries Bay. The Liman-Gilyak, for their part, however, if they were to spread southward along the continental coast, would be moving farther and farther away from the island of Sakhalin, with the population of which they have a natural and permanent connection through a partial tribal union as well as through many trade interests. Thus, with respect to the Gilyak, there is no /22/ stepping over
OOO the mutual boundaries between the peoples (1). It is different

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1. A completely erroneous and, as we shall see, frequently recurring confusion to be noted in this statement by Dm. Romanof ("Prisoedinenie Amura /Annexation of the Amur/." —Russkoe Slovo, 1859, Aug., Sec. I, pp. 131, 135), Bickmore ("The Ainos or hairy men of Jesso, Saghalien and the Kurile Isl.," Amer. Journ. of Science, May, 1868, p. 14), and others that de Castries Bay is inhabited by Gilyak -- the same people, as the latter believes, whom Rollin, too (in La Pérouse's travel account) has described from there.

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101 It is different
361 with the Olcha. For them Lake Kidsi offers a natural route to the sea, on which south of Taba, de Castries Bay is the first deep and protected bay. Therefore, besides the Orochi, they, too, have their permanent habitation sites in it.

RX2
Goldi RX3
– Olcha

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101 main artery. Sometimes we see their territory reduced to a minimum (2); sometimes, and even more frequently, they

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2. For instance, in Swerbejef /Sverbeev/, who does not have the Goldi end until Dshaĭ and has the Gilyak begin as soon as Kidsi. This would leave for the Olcha, then, little more than the village of Gauwne on the Amur. This error, that the natives of Kidsi and the surrounding area are Gilyak, is repeated almost throughout by the Russian authors, for example, by D. Romanof ("Ocherk" miestnosti mezhdu zal. de- Kastri u riek. Amurom" /Essay on the Locality between De-Kastri Bay and the Amur River/. "- Viestn. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Part 25, 1859, Sec. II [Research and Materials], pp. 134-138); by J. Mewes ("Tri goda v" Sib. i Amursk. stranie /Three Years in Siberia and the Amur Country/. "- Otechestv. Zap., Vol. CXLVIII, p. 284), who called Kidsi the principal village of the Gilyak; by Dr. Plaxin ("Primorsk. obl. Vostochn. Sib." - Voenn. Sborn., 1869, No. 12, p. 194), who has the Gilyak begin at Ssofijsk /Sofisk/ (Dshaĭ) and extend, not only along the Amur and the Sea of Okhotsk, but also beyond the Amgunj /Amgun/ and a part of the Tatar Strait, etc. In the latter, by the way, the Amur peoples are so confused that Mangun and Manegir appear as synonymous designations. The American, Bush (Reindeer, dogs and snow-shoes, London, 1872, pp. 77, 86-89), regards the dwellers on Kidsi Lake as Gilyak. Even Boschnjak, who quite

2: Schrenck--53 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 2 Gilyak RX2
Goldi RX3
Olcha

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correctly remarked that a sharp dividing line between the Gilyak and the Mangun lies at the village of Uchtr, in that the former only live below it, but going upstream, the latter begin with the village named ("Eksped. v" Priamursk. kraie." - Morsk. Sborn., 1859, No. 1, Unofficial Part, p. 125), cannot refrain from speaking of the "Kidsi-Gilyak" in another place (M.Sb., 1859, No. 3, Unofficial Part, p. 209).

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disappear completely by being simply thrown in with the Gilyak (3). Aside from the few above-mentioned Olcha

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3. Pargatschevskij /Pargachevskii/ ("Poiezdka zimn. put. vverkh" po r. Amuru, ot" Nikolaevsk. posta do Ust'-Strielochn. karaula, sovershenn. v" 1856-57 gg. /A Trip by the Winter Route Upstream along the Amur, from the Nikolayevsk Post to the Ust'-Strelochny Guardpost in 1856-57/." - Viestn. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch, Part 21, 1857, Sec. II [Research and Materials], pp. 161, 165), for instance, does not know of the Olcha at all, but has the Gilyak extend from the mouth of the Amur to Adi, and from there down the Goldi begin. Likewise Dr. Sperk ("Geografopatologicheskie ocherki Vost. Sib. /Geographical-Pathological Sketches from Eastern Siberia/." - Mediko-topograf. Sborn., St. Petersburg, 1870, p. 68), who even grants to the Gilyak the whole

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S.S.
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1. (cont.)
are in the wrong places almost throughout: the Orochi, for instance, are shown only in the southernmost part of their extensive territory, almost all the Mangun (Olcha) are shifted into the Goldi territory, the Samagir are transferred to the Amgunj, in place of the Negda, who are not mentioned at all, like the Birar, Manegir, and Orochon. The Daur, who, besides being along the Nonni and Komar, are also along the Bureja and the Amur, and who certainly cannot, like the last-named peoples, be simply subsumed under the general designation "Tungus," are missing entirely on the map, whereas the few Koreans who only recently moved into the Russian area across the Tumen River are shown.

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S.S.
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The various Tungusic peoples of the Amur region are given still less attention on the ethnographic map of Asiatic Russia which is given in the statistical atlas of the Russian Empire by Iljin (Opyt" statist. atlasa Rossiiskoi Imperii /An Attempt at a Statistical Atlas of the Russian Empire/, St. Petersburg, 1874, Map 14), with an even smaller scale, to be sure. In the Russian part of the Amur region (aside from the Chinese and Manchu), the only indigenous peoples it recognizes, in addition to the incorrectly demarcated Gilyak and Ainu, are the "Tungusen" (in general) and "Golde," whose territory, however, is shown along the Amur from above the Bureja to Mariinsk.

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Finally, the same errors as those on the Wenjukof map are repeated on the

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[113]

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1. (cont.)
ethnographic map of the Russian Empire recently drawn up by Petermann (Geogr. Mittheil., 1877, [illegible]ate 1), which, for Asiatic Russia, is based entirely upon the information of the former. Despite the much smaller scale, it faithfully copies the boundaries of the Gilyak territory that were shown above as erroneous. The names of the individual Tungusic Amur-peoples, however, are entirely omitted on it, so that the Amur region, with the exception of a short stretch along the lower course of its principal river, like the adjacent part of Eastern Siberia, seems to be inhabited only by "Tungusen."

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Our map virtually ignores this last factor completely,[1] since it shows the ethnographic situation of the Amur region at a time when the Russians, after a pause of two hundred years, were just beginning to penetrate into the Amur region again, and were not to abandon it from then on. Since the colonization especially followed the principal rivers, the Amur and the Ussuri, it changed the ethnographic conditions chiefly where the indigenous population was most densely settled. It may therefore be that since then many communities of the latter have been displaced, shifted, or reduced, have even disappeared altogether, and their very names as well. And the future will even more take a rapid and relentless course in this direction. Now, since our map /91/ establishes the ethnographic conditions of the Amur region before they were affected by these changes, it can in the future provide a yardstick for the latter. And that can only heighten its scientific interest. How valuable, for example, an accurate ethnographic map of the Amur region at the time of the first Russian invasion would be for us now! How much could be drawn from it for the questions to be dealt with in the next section!

[1] [i.e., The mass immigration of the Russian Colonists into the Amur River region--Analyst]

S.S. /94 cont./
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peoples could and must have frequently resulted during this time, but they are most difficult to perceive from the historical reports available, for, on the one hand, the territorial boundaries of roaming hunting and seminomadic fishing peoples are never very /95/ definite and even at the present time are inadequately known among the Amur peoples, and, on the other hand, the historical reports concerned, since we are indebted for them to the notes and reports of simple, uneducated people pursuing practical interests, suffer as a rule from too much vagueness and sometimes obscurity for our purposes, and, what is worse, they not infrequently present the Amur peoples under names that are completely foreign to us today and therefore require an interpretation beforehand. Now, whether the interpretations and explanations that will be found in the following pages are always the correct ones must remain undecided to begin with --for my part I hope, since they are not without reason, that they will be verified in most cases at least and may provide a key for a better understanding of some of the historical reports concerning the Amur region and the ethnographic facts contained in them.

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Let us begin again with the peoples of the lower Amur region and from among them with the most extreme, the Gilyak. The first printed mention of the Gilyak is found on the map published by Nicolaus Witsen in 1687 in Amsterdam and dedicated to Peter the Great, "Nieuwe Land-Karte van het Noorder- en Ooster-Deel van Asia en Europa /New Map of the North-eastern Part of Asia and Europe/" (1), and in

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1. Müller (Sammlung Russ. Gesch., Vol. I, pp. 203 ff., and Vol. VI, pp. 29 ff.) gave a detailed description and evaluation of this map. In addition to the rare, original edition of this map, I have before me another copy of the Witsen map provided by Allard on a smaller scale and with some corrections, which was not mentioned either by Müller in his

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/95 cont./ 1. (cont.)

"Nachricht von Land- und See-Carten, die das Russ. Reich und die zunächst angränzenden Länder betreffen /Report on the Land and Sea Maps Which Refer to the Russian Empire and the Immediately Adjacent Countries/" (Samml., etc., Vol. VI) or by Adelung in his article, "Ueber die älteren ausländischen Karten von Russland /Concerning the Older Foreign Maps of Russia/" (Beitr. zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reichs, ed. by Baer and Helmersen, Vol. IV). It bears the title, "Tartaria, sive Magni Chami Imperium ex credendis Amplissimi Viri D-ni Nicolai Witsen, Cos: Amst: Aliorumque probandorum, et hodie vigentium Geographorum Archetypis congestum, auctum, et in lucem editum a Carolo Allard, Amst: Bat: Cum Privilegio Potentissimorum D. D. Ordinum Hollandiae et Westfrisiae," without date. The Dutch inscriptions of the original edition are rendered in Latin. The map has almost precisely the same borders, but with the addition of Korea in the east and, on the other hand, the exclusion of the course of the Volga in the west. I call it a copy of Witsen's map, because in fact it reproduces it in all parts, especially in the north and in the east, down to the smallest detail. Also, one finds on it, for example, the same curiosa as in Witsen, that is, misunderstood Russian words and expressions were taken for place names. At the confluence of the Schilka /Shilka/ and the Argunj /Argun/, for instance, there stands in large letters the regional name "Otsel Poschel," evidently because in a Russian statement (and, to be

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1. (cont.)
Schingal (Sungari), and others, and with the region Giletskaja at its mouth, and another time farther east under the name of Helung (the well-known designation for the Amur), with the tributaries Songora, Quentung, and others, flowing through the region of Niuchi or Nikanskaja (of the Manchu and Chinese) and inhabited by the Jupi people at its mouth. I found two copies of the above-mentioned Allard map in our academic library.

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/96/ his well-known work which appeared soon afterward in 1692, Noord en Oost Tartarye. In this bulky work abounding with data thrown confusedly together, the Gilyak are named in many places and, to be sure, under various modifications of one and the same name, for example, as "Chilakken, Chilanen, Gilaki, Giliaki, Gilaci, Gilaitski, and Gilanki," or "Giliakische and Gilaitse Volken" /Volken, "peoples"/, and their region as "Gilaitskie, Giletskaia, Gilenskije, and Gilanska gewest or landtschap" /gewest, landtschap, "district, region"/ (1). In this connection several, often

1. Edition of 1692, Part 2, pp. 9, 29, 30, 32, 33, 36, 104, 520, 528, 543; edition of 1705, pp. 11, 67, 68, 77, 86, 87, 88, 96, 106, 112, 267, 838, 847, 884.

distorted, to be sure, but nevertheless characteristic features of their way of life are mentioned, and we shall come back to them on occasion later. The statements in Witsen about the habitation sites of the Gilyak differ even more than the name, for at one time he states only in very general fashion that they have their sites on the right bank of the Amur and southward (2), and

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2. Edition of 1692, Part 2, p. 29; edition of 1705, p. 67.

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175 131 361 mouth ("Zemle Giletskaja," land of the Gilyak) (8), then high up in the north, along the Anadyr, and, finally, far to the west, along the sources of a northern tributary of the Amur, which on the map bears the name of Urka and presumably is the Urkan.

175 114 [101] [103] Like almost all the Siberian names for places and peoples on Witsen's map or in his work, the above designations for the Gilyak and their region also reveal by their endings their undoubtedly Russian origin. Witsen himself repeatedly states, both in the individual cases concerned and in the introduction to his work, that he has often drawn on Russian sources (9). He used

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8. On Allard's map the "Holaki" are also shown here.

175 114 113 9. According to Müller (Samml. Russ. Gesch., Vol. I, p. 202), in collecting the reports on Siberia he also found especially helpful Andr. Winiu's "Dumnoi djak," which, however, he does not mention. Recently Spasskij ("Svied. Russk. o riekie Amurie v" XVII stolietii /Information from the Russians concerning the Amur River in the Seventeenth Century/," in Viestn. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Part VII, 1853, Sec. II, pp. 17 ff.) published a "Story from the Amur River," which he found in a collection of seventeenth-century manuscripts and which evidently was written before the Nerchinsk treaty (1689) was concluded. It bears the inscription, "Skazanie o velikoi riekie Amurie, kotoraia razgranila Russkoe selenie s" Kitaitsy" (Story from the great Amur River, which forms the boundary between the Russian settlements and the Chinese). One recognizes it as one of the

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9. (cont.)
Russian sources used by Witsen. The information that it gives is found in Witsen in literal translation, for example, the statements concerning the location of the Gilyak region (Gilianskaia zemlia) on the mouth of the Amur and on the coast to the south and north of it, concerning the rivers that flow to the sea in the Gilyak region: Lama, Ochota, Tawui, Todui, Penshin, Kamtschatka, Tchuldan, Anadyr, etc.

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/97/ as aids for the map, as he himself states, both several Siberian wooden panels and especially a map of Siberia which was made by the commander of Tobolsk, Peter Godunof, and his assistants in 1667 upon the orders of Tsar Alexei Michailowitsch /Alexis I Mikhailovich/ and was put on a woodcut in Moscow with a statement of the distances between the places recorded on it (1). Thanks to Middendorff's elucidation of the oldest maps

1. Witsen, *op. cit.*, Preface; also the ed. of 1692, Part 2, pp. 536, 537; ed. of 1705, p. 859. Cf. also Müller, *Samml. Russ. Gesch.*, Vol. I, p. 204.

of Siberia (2), we know that this was the first "Siberian Sketch"

2. *Reise*, etc., Vol. IV, pp. 34-38, 176-177.

(*Ssi[illegible]kij tschertesh*), which, to be sure, has since been lost, but a revised and completed edition has been preserved in Remesof's

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175 114 •[113] /Remezov/ atlas. This atlas (3), consisting of 24 handwritten sheets, was also thought to be lost until it was discovered in 1842 by Wostokof in the Rumjanzof Museum. Although Remesof did not complete the entire work until 1701, the first map (the last one in the atlas) was drawn as early as 1673; it is ethnographic in content -- the first ethnographic map of Siberia, which shows the habitation sites of the many Siberian peoples in bright, strongly contrasting spots of color (4). Middendorff, who was the first to put the significance of the Remesof work in the proper light, appended another sheet, perhaps the most important one, which contains the survey map of Siberia as a whole, to the Russian edition of his travel account, with the [131] scale reduced fourfold (5). On this map one finds the inscription "Gilyak Region" (Tsarstvo Gilyansko) at the mouth of the Amur and on the seacoast north of it, just like the "Zemle Giletskaja" on the Witsen one. If one compares this map with the Witsen one, there seems to be no doubt but that, as far as Siberia is concerned, the latter was drawn, not merely with the help of, but directly based on the above-mentioned first "Siberian sketch" (6). This first "sketch," however, and the later revised

3. Under the title, "Chertezhnaia kniga... vsei Sibiri /A Sketchbook... of All Siberia/"; see Middendorff, *loc. cit.*

4. According to Middendorff, *loc. cit.* I have not seen the Remesof atlas.

[113] 5. *Putesh. na siev. i vost. Sibiri* /A Journey into Northern and Eastern Siberia/, Pt. I, p. 37. The map bore the title, "Chertezh" vsiekh" sibirskikh" gradov" i zemel' /A Sketch of All Siberian Towns and Lands/."

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6. Also arguing in favor of this are the curiosa on the Witsen map cited above pp. 193-196, note 1), which arose through the transfer of the Russian inscriptions.

and completed edition of Remesof's maps were made up for the Amur region from the information that the Russian military expeditions brought home, which, however, in its full extent, as it was set down in the reports of the leaders and participants in those expeditions, at that time still rested untouched in the Siberian archives.

According to Müller's explanation (7), the map that /98/

7. Samml. Russ. Gesch., Vol. VI, p. 32.

accompanies the oldest description of the voyage of Ysbrants Ides, published in the Dutch language (1), also comes from Witsen:

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1. Driejaarige Reize naar China, te lande gedaan, door den Moskovischen Afgezant, E. Ysbrants Ides /Three Years' Travels to China by Land, Performed by the Muscovite Envoy, E. Ysbrants Ides/, etc., Amsterdam, 1704. The map bears the title, "Nova Tabula Imperii Russici, ex omnium accuratissimis, quae hactenus extiterunt, Imprimis viri Ampliss: Nic: Witzen delineationibus conflata, quam ipsa locorum lustratione edoctus, multum emendavit Everardus Ysbrants Ides," with a dedication to Peter the Great.

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175 114 it was drawn by him on the basis of his own map and changed only with respect to the information -- and not always for the better -- that Ysbrants Ides obtained on his travels and gave to 175 114 131 [101] him. On this map the Gilyak are shown only once, and, to be sure, as on Remesof's map, only on the seacoast between the Amur and the Tugur. On the other hand, we see on the much later map by Strahlenberg (2) that the whole region along the northern tributaries of the Amur River, from the Dseja /Zeya/ to the sea, is designated as "terra Giliakorum, whereas in his well-known work on the northern and eastern part of Europe and Asia, it is said that the "Kilani," who are called "Kilett" by the Yakut and "Kilaki" by the Russians, live around the mouth of the 175 114 101 ● [113] Amur River (3). So incredible did the information that he gave on them sound -- though, as we shall see later, it was not entirely lacking in truth -- and in any case so fantastic was his derivation of them from the Avar, who are said to have been moved in the thirteenth century from the Caspian and Black Seas to China by the Shah of Persia, Mangu -- he saw confirmation

2. "Nova Descriptio Geographica Tartariae Magnae tam orientalis quam occidentalis in particularibus et generalibus Territoriis una cum Delineatione totius Imperii Russici imprimis Siberiae accurate ostensa." With a dedication to Friedrich I, King of Sweden; without date.

3. Ph. Joh. v. Strahlenberg, Das Nord- und Ostliche Theil von Europa und Asia /The Northern and Eastern Part of Europe and Asia/, Stockholm, 1730, p. 386. Müller (Samml. Russ. Gesch., Vol. VI, p. 69) says that the map appeared together with this work in the year 1731.

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175 114 101 for his view in the still extant, like-sounding name Kilan (Gilan) for a Persian province on the Caspian Sea -- that Gmelin cast Strahlenberg's whole account into doubt. At most, he thought, the "Kilani" could be a family of the Tungus, since there were so many in Siberia who gave themselves special names, but not a separate, different people who, as Strahlenberg maintained, distinguished themselves by their skill in so important an art as the forging of weapons -- how could there be such a people, he says, without the whole of Siberia knowing about it (4). Nevertheless it was Gmelin's travel companion who, without entering the Amur region, made the greatest contribution to our historical knowledge of its peoples, and among them the Gilyak.

Müller was the first to stress the importance of the rich mine of information concerning the Amur region which had accumulated in the Siberian archives and only fragments of which had been seen by Witsen. Later many more gleanings were obtained in this field. Through this there was brought to light the oldest information that we have up to now concerning the Amur peoples being discussed here. According to it, the Russians /99/ obtained their first information about the Gilyak even before they entered the Amur region. In the years 1639 and 1640, when the leader of the Yenisei Cossacks, Maxim Perfiljef, advanced up the Witim /Vitim/ and its left tributary, the Zypir (Zipa /Tsipa/), almost to Lake Baunt, the Tungus there told him of the Daur people, who were supposed to live along the upper Witim and along the Schilka and to trade with the Chinese, as well as a people living where the latter river empties into the sea, that is, at the mouth of the Amur, the "Kilorzy," who were distinguished from all the other peoples by their language and likewise had trading relations with the

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[113] 4. J. G. Gmelin, Reise durch Sibirien, von dem Jahr 1733 bis 1743, Göttingen, 1751-1752, Vol. II, Preface.

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175 114 101 [113) Chinese who came by sea (1). We therefore obtain here information about two of the most remote peoples on the Amur River at the time, for there seems to be no doubt but that the Gilyak are to be understood under "Kilorzy," as was also noted by Fischer in giving this information. It is just one of the many versions of this name, as we have already seen above: they all correspond in the primary sound, Kil or Gil, and differ only in the endings. This oldest version, however, leads directly to an explanation of how and where the name "Gilyak" arose for these people.

101 Among themselves the Gilyak do not designate themselves with this name at all, as many assert; they do it only when dealing with the Russians, because they know that they are so named by them. Among themselves they call themselves merely "Nib(a)ch" (2), that is, "human being," in that

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1. J. E. Fischer, Sibir. Gesch., Part I, St. Petersburg, 1768, p. 527-530. Here, as at one other place in his work (p. 477), Fischer calls the author of this information Perfirjef and designates him as a Yenisei (Cossack) hetman. In Pojarkof's /Poyarkov/ original report on his expedition along the Amur (Dopoln. k" akt. istor: /Supplements to the Historical Documents/, Vol. III, St. Petersburg, 1848, pp. 51, 52), however, he is sometimes called Perfiljef and sometimes Perfirjef and is mentioned as a military man from the Yenisei Ostrog (Eniseiskago ostroga sluzhilyi cheloviek").

[104) 2. The parentheses around the vowel are meant to indicate that it is barely heard in the pronunciation.

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101 for them, like so many peoples on a similar, lower level of culture, the concept of human being coincides with the one of an individual of their tribe and their language and the more general, abstract concept is still lacking. According to this information, the Gilyak were first named to the Russians by the Witim-Tungus. If one leaves off the Russian ending of the name as it was rendered by the Cossacks, it may sound like the Tungus Kilor or Kiler. The Tungus got it from the Daur along the Witim and Schilka, with whom they are in contact, and they in turn from the Chinese, who trade with them, as well as with the peoples of the lower Amur region, by traveling to the latter, though not by sea, as the Tungus reported or as the Russians may have understood, but nevertheless by boat down the Amur. The designation Kilor or Kiler must thus be of Chinese origin, with a Tungusic foundation and perhaps also with some Tungusic modification. Actually there is a people of that or a similar name among those mentioned by the Manchu-Chinese geographers or Manchu-Chinese sources from the lower Amur region. For example, the Chinese imperial /100/ geography of the Tsing dynasty (1) mentions the following peoples, besides the Manchu

●(113) 1. Tai Tsing hoei tien, Peking, 1818, Vol. XI, 2; according to Ritter, Asien, Vol. III, p. 444. Pauthier (Chine moderne ou descript. histor., geogr. et litter. de ce vaste empire, Paris, 1853, Part I, p. 168. -- L'Univers) mentions from the Chinese work named the same peoples in the same sequence, but in a somewhat different version;inhis French transcription; they run: Tchi-tché, Fef-ya-khé, Li-eurh-kou-yé, Golun-tchun, and Go-khe-la.

and Chinese, for the Ssan-ssin district, which includes the lower Amur region and the coast: Kilerchadshi, Wiyaka (Fiaka),

/100 cont./

101 Lerkoje, Oruntschun, and Kiyakla. In Timkovski's Journey to Peking, edited by Klaproth (2), the Kileng and the Fiaka are mentioned from the lower Amur and the seacoast. The archimandrite Palladij (3) enumerates from the province of Girin the following peoples who paid their tribute in sable pelts to the Peking Court before the Russians occupied the lower Amur region: the Chădshă or Chădsin, the Fiaka, the Kiler, the Kuă, the Orontscho, and the Kjakala. These are not by far all the enumerations of the Chinese names for the peoples of the lower Amur region, but only those in which the names Kiler or Kileng occur; others will be mentioned later on. One should not expect, however, that the peoples distinguished by the Chinese would always coincide exactly with those now known to us in this region. With their very limited knowledge of the lower Amur region, it could and must have happened, on the contrary, that occasionally the Chinese did not distinguish the various peoples from one another, especially those that were more remote, or included them under a collective name, and in other

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[113] 2. G. Timkovski, Voyage à Peking à travers la Mongolie, en 1820 et 1821. Trad. du Russe par N****, revu par J. B. Eyriès; publ. avec des correct. et des notes par J Klaproth. Paris, 1827. Atlas, Tab. VII, Explic. p. 25.

[113] 3. "Dorozhn. zamietki na puti ot" Pekina do Blagovieshchenska chez" Man'chzhuriiu, v" 1870 g. /Travel Notes on the way from Peking to Blagoveshchensk by way of Manchuria in 1870/" (Zap. Russk. Geogr. Obshch. Po obshch. geogr., Vol. IV, 1871, p. 399).

/100 cont./

101 cases, on the other hand, where nearer and more familiar regions
were involved, they gave different names to branches or tribes of
one and the same people differing only slightly dialectally. It
101 is therefore not surprising that one finds contradictory statements
114 in the interpretations made up to now about these Manchu-
Chinese names, for which the above point of view was not followed
and which, in addition, came from men who lacked any personal acquaintance with the lower-Amur peoples. Klaproth, for
example, thought at the beginning that Fiaka and Chedshen
were the Manchu terms for the Gilyak (4); later (5), however,
he thought that he recognized in the Kileng, as they supposedly
called themselves, the Gilyak of the Russians. Palladij, however, even recently regarded the Fiaka as Gilyak, and the Kiler,
on the other hand, as Amgunj-Tungus, that is, Negda. If one
considers the alleged habitation sites of these peoples, as well
as the few reports concerning their respective character traits,
way of life, clothing, etc., one must, to be sure, grant more
right to the latter interpretation, but cannot entirely agree with
it either. The description of the Fiaka in the atlas accompany-
(291) ing Timkovski's Journey, as a crude, but brave people who in
winter are clothed in pelts of dog fur, incontestably fits the
Gilyak better than that of the Kileng, whose clothing of stag hide
(or /101/ perhaps also roe or reindeer skins) in itself indicates
a Tungusic people devoted to a higher level of hunting (1).

•(113) 4. *Asia polyglotta*, Paris, 1823, pp. 290, 301. In this connection he regards the Gilyak as the Kuriles of the continent, concerning which more later.

5. Atlas accompanying Timkovski's *Journey*, *loc. cit.*

1. The drawings of the Kileng and Fiaka (Atlas, Plate VII), as crude and dissimilar

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[131] [361] The alleged habitation sites of the peoples in question likewise appear to argue in favor of this interpretation, as the Kileng are said to live chiefly along the Amgunj (2), the Fiaka along the seacoast near the mouth of the Amur. There seems to be almost no further doubt but that the Fiaka are the Gilyak when Iakinf (3), on the basis of Manchu-Chinese sources and without any comment of his own, states that there are three peoples on Sakhalin, Fjakã (Fyake), Eluntschun, and Kuã, obviously Gilyak, Orok, and Ainu. Finally, among the statements by the old Jesuit missionaries, too, there are some that cannot be interpreted in any way other than in the above sense; Gerbillon's statement (4), for instance, that the lowermost part of the Amur River down to the sea was inhabited by the Fiatta or Fiattu (5) people, who

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101 114 1. (cont.) as they are generally as well as in details, rather favor such an interpretation.

● [113] 2. Khenkhoûn in Klaproth (loc. cit.), Henkon on the maps by d'Anville (Nouv. Atlas de la Chine, de la Tartarie Chinoise et du Thibet, La Haye, 1737, Nos. 1, 18).

[113] 3. Statist. Opis. Kitaisk. Imper. /Statistical Description of the Chinese Empire/, St. Petersburg 1842, Part II, p. 30, footnote.

[113] 4. J. B. du Halde, Descript. de l'Emp. de la Chine et de la Tartarie Chinoise, Paris, 1735, Vol. IV, p. 37.

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speak an entirely different language, live solely on fish, and whom, on the basis of the descriptions that he obtained, he would compare with the Iroquois. Müller (6) replied to this that the Gilyak were designated with the name Fitta by the Manchu. On the other hand, the Jesuit missionaries (7) who upon the orders of Emperor Kang-hi traveled through Manchuria proper and part of the lower Amur region in order to draw a map of them reported on the Fiatta in a quite different sense. According to them it is nothing but the Manchu designation for the language of the Ketscheng or Ketsching, a people who lives along the Amur River from Tondon to its mouth and along the coast to the east of the Ussuri and the Amur, as well as, presumably, that people who occupies the seacoast north of the Amur mouth up to 55 degrees of latitude, the extreme northeastern boundary of the Chinese Empire (8). Thus we see here that the designation Fiatta, or,

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5. Klaproth (Atlas, *loc. cit.*) expressly states that "Fiatta" is an error and should be "Fiaka."

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6. "Von dem Amur-Flusse /From the Amur River/," in *Büsching's Magaz. für die neue Historie und Geogr.*, Part 2, 2nd ed., Hamburg, 1769, p. 506.

7. Regis, Jartoux and Fridelli, 1709.

8. Du Halde, *Descript.*, etc., Vol. IV, pp. 7, 12. Ritter (*Asien*, Vol. III, pp. 446, 447) has combined the contradicting statements of the Jesuit missionaries and Klaproth's into one, which leads to the greatest confusion.

/101 cont./

101 114 as Klaproth insists, Fiaka, is used, due to insufficient knowledge, as a collective term for a number of different peoples of the Amur region or their language, and among them the Gilyak. And the same must be concluded from the statements of the Chinese U-tschen, who, as was stated above, spent 17 years -- from his birth on -- in Ninguta, to which his father had been exiled, and later, in 1722, having returned to China, he wrote a description of his birthplace. Downstream from the Cheidsin or Chădshen on the Amur River, he has the region of the Fei-ja-cha come next, the description of which, however, only in part fits the Gilyak, and to a greater extent -- for example, the nose rings, /102/ the birchbark boats, fishing in the sea, etc. -- the Goldi, Olcha, and Orochi (1). Finally, Iakinf expresses himself quite definitely in this sense in declaring that all the different tribes that live downstream from the Chădshe on both banks of the Amur River and also occupy the northern part of Sakhalin were included under the common name Fjakă (Fyake) (2).

All this permits one to draw the conclusion that the Fiaka of the Manchu-Chinese geographers or reporters are not always the Gilyak by any means; although better informed individuals actually might have referred to the Gilyak by this designation,

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● [113) [197) 1. In Wassiljef's /Vasil'ev/ translation: "Zapiski o Ningutie /Notes on Ninguta/" (Zap. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Part XII, 1857, pp. 90-93). It is also said there that the Fiaka, Cheidsin, and Churcha or Chulcha address one another with the word "andă." This, however, is a Tungusic word that also occurs among the Goldi, Olcha, etc. and means "friend"; in Gilyak it is "amală."

[113) 2. Iakinf", Statist. Opis. Kitaisk. Imperii, Part II, p. 12.

Gi /102 cont./
101 inquired among the Goldi about the name of the Samagir or of
114 the people on the Gorin and those on the Kur, they named the
one as well as the /103/ other for me repeatedly as the "Kile,"
evidently because they bore this collective name among the
Chinese and then designated themselves with it when dealing
G with them. The Gilyak also gave me the name "Kil" for the
[101] Samagir. Since the Goldi and the Gilyak languages are completely
G Gi different, the obvious conclusion is that this can only be
[197] a foreign name. Finally, I have sometimes heard Chinese merchants
G traveling along the Amur designate even the northern
Gi and more distant Goldi, as a rule the Olcha, and, indeed, even
101 the Gilyak with this or a similar name. One such merchant,
for instance, whom I met in Amtscho on the Amur, eagerly
asked me whether the "Kilam" or "Kilang" living farther downstream
had many sables, and, in order to make himself better
understood, he also named this animal in the Kilam language
the word sounded like "lombr," and the Gilyak "lumr" can be
G clearly recognized. The Gilyak were quite similarly called
101 "Ki-li-mi" by the Chinese companions of the missionary
Venault when he went down the Amur in order to investigate the
death of de la Brunière, who had been killed by them (1).

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● [113] 1. Venault, "Excurs. dans les parties
intér. de la Mandchourie /Journey into
the Interior Parts of Manchuria/" (Nouv.
Ann. des Voyages, 5th series, Vol. XXX,1852
/Vol. II/, pp. 216-223.

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Gi From all that has been said it is clear that the Chinese include
101 under the collective designation Kil, Kile, Kilang, Kilam, etc.
114 both the peoples of the left, northern and western tributaries
of the lower Amur River, of the Kur, Gorin, and Amgunj, and
the dwellers along the lower course of the main river, itself,
and, to be sure, especially the Gilyak, whom they know least,
but also the Olcha, and sometimes even part of the Goldi; or,
in other words, just as in the case of the Fiaka and Chādshen,

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175 the late season obliged him to winter over. At what place
131 among the Gilyak this first wintering of the Russians occurred
648 cannot be ascertained with certainty -- perhaps on the left
bank of the Amur at Cape Tschnyrrach, or Tschchyrkrach, as
the Gilyak themselves call it, for there in the ground overgrown
with dense forest and strikingly luxuriant underbrush I saw unevennesses
which could very well have been the remains of
175 former earth huts. In the summer of 1645, Pojarkof went from
there to the sea and along the coast up to the Ulja /Ulya/ River,
which he /106/ reached after twelve weeks and on which he
again wintered, not to return to Yakutsk until the following
year (1). No details, however, are known concerning this sea

(113) 1. Müller, *Samml. Russ. Gesch.*, Vol. II, 1736, pp. 302, 303. The same, "Nachrichten von dem Amur-Flusse," in *Büsching's Magazin für die neue Historie und Geogr.*, Part 2, second ed., Hamburg, 1769, p. 505. Cf. also Fischer, *Sibir. Gesch.*, Vol. II, 1768, pp. 788, 789. For Pojarkof's original report, see *Dopolneniia k" aktam" istoricheskim", sobr. i izdann. arkheograf. Kommissieiu* /Supplements to the Historical Documents Collected and Published by the Archeographic Commission/, St. Petersburg, 1848, Vol. III, p. 55 (the pertinent place in the report).

[121] voyage. I shall also give here the reports of Pojarkof's successors
insofar as they pertain to the Gilyak and their immediate
neighbors, in order to compare the statements and add a few
remarks concerning them.

In 1651, Jerofei Chabarof /Khabarov/, going down the Amur by boat, entered its lower course. There were still Djutscheren living at a distance of a seven-days' journey from the Sungari, and then at a large village located on a mountain on the right bank the Atschanen (Achany) people began, in whose territory, several days' journey farther down, Chabarof

/106 cont./

3. (cont.)

175 648 114 and at another place (Büsching's Magaz., Part 2, p. 508, July 2 (three days after the Day of Peter and Paul), which however cannot be correct if the trip, as is said previously, started on May 4 and -- putting together the above-mentioned periods of time -- lasted ten weeks. In Fischer (op. cit., p. 817) it is said instead toward the end of July, which, however, would be somewhat too late according to that reckoning. In the detailed and rather drastic account by the Cossack [113] Iwan Uwarof, a participant in the expedition (see Dopoln. k" aktam" istor., Vol. III, pp. 354 ff.) almost all these dates are lacking, except the date of departure (May 4) and the statement that after traveling for ten days they already found themselves amidst many Djutscheren and Natken, who thereafter kept attacking them and gave them no peace; the siege by Gilyak vessels on the Amur is said to have lasted only two weeks.

175 [648] well and unable /107/ to make the return trip upstream, they built themselves a larger vessel and began the sea journey along the coast to the north. On the thirteenth day after their departure (1), however, the vessel was crushed by drifting ice (2),

1. According to Uwarof's report (op. cit., p. 358), on the tenth day.

[114] [133] 2. Müller (op. cit., p. 330) considers drifting ice in the Sea of Okhotsk as inconceivable at that time of the year. On the other hand, thanks to the experiences of Middendorff, Starizkij, and

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2. (cont.)
others, we know that it is a characteristic feature of that northwestern corner of the Sea of Okhotsk. See the present work, Vol. II, p. 758, and my "Strömungsverhältnisse im Ochotskischen und Japanischen Meere /Currents in the Sea of Okhotsk and the Sea of Japan/" (Mém. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc. de St. Pétersb., Ser. VII, Vol. XXI, No. 3), p. 10.

175 during which they lost their entire supply of food and ammunition and only after much hardship barely escaped with their lives. They continued on foot for five days along the seacoast, living on roots, berries, seatang, seals, and whatever else the ocean washed up (3). Then they built a new vessel, with which

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3. Fischer (op. cit., p. 818) also mentions walruses, as does Uwarof's account, but it is well known that there are none in the Sea of Okhotsk; this is probably a reference to whales, which abound in this sea.

in 14 days, by rowing they reached the Utschalda River, on which Gilyak and Tungus lived. They stayed there until December 15 whereupon they continued their journey inland and after 14 days, or, according to other information, after four weeks, came to the Tugur River, on which they found a large Tungus population with abundant food. The following spring, 1653, Nagiba went down the Tugur to its mouth and from there, with five men, started the return trip to Yakutsk along the sea and then across the mountains, while he sent back the other men under Iwan Uwarof in order to build among the Tungus on the Tugur a "Jassaschnoje Simowjo," that is, a winter hut for collecting tribute (4).

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175 648 The next and last contact of the Russians with the Gilyak which we know about from this period of the first Russian military expeditions into the Amur region took place under Chabarof's successor, the Cossack Onufrij Stepanof. The latter had already spent the winter of 1653/54 in Djutscheren territory, "in the neighborhood of the Gilyak" (5). In the fall of 1655, with the "Ssyn bojarskoi" Fedor Puschtschin who had been sent from Yakutsk in the meantime, he again went into the lower Amur region, and this time beyond the Djutscheren to the Gilyak bordering them (6). Shortly before, the latter had killed a company of 30 Yakutsk Cossacks, who had reached them by land from Okhotsk, and were now punished for it by Stepanof. Moreover, he built an ostrog /fort/ among them, to which, because of its position on a mountain slope, he gave the name Kossogorskoi (7). He spent the winter in it, took from the Gilyak

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175 [114] 4. Curiously Uwarof says in his account that he sent Nagiba with five men, whose names he gives, to Yakutsk, while elsewhere he constantly refers to Nagiba as the leader of the expedition.

•[113] 5. Müller, *Samml.*, *loc. cit.*, p. 343. In Stepanof's report to the Yakutsk voivode, Michail Lodyshenskij (*Dopoln. k" aktam" istor.*, Vol. III, p. 524), it is said "*v*" *Dyucherskoi zemlie, ne doplyv*" *Gilyatskie zemli*, that is, in the country of the Djutscheren, above the Gilyak country.

6. Müller, *op. cit.*, pp. 354, 355; Fischer, *op. cit.*, p. 849.

7. In Stepanof's report the ostrog is called

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a handsome /108/ tribute in furs, and in the spring of 1656 again went up the Amur. Two years later part of his company who did not want to submit to the delegate of the new commander, Paschkof, and had fled, returned to the lower Amur, wintered at its mouth (1658/59), and went back upstream again with the rich tribute collected from the Gilyak (1). There are no other reports concerning the Gilyak during this visit of the Russians among them.

175 131 So run the oldest Russian reports concerning the Gilyak and their closest neighbors. What may be drawn from them with regard to the mutual boundaries of these peoples at that time? Nagiba's expedition acquainted us with the Gilyak along the coast of the Sea of Okhotsk westward at least as far as the Utschalda River, and, to be sure, in the company of the Tungus, who apparently at that time occasionally roamed to the sea to hunt and fish, as is still done today (2). To be sure, the location of the Utschalda River has not yet been ascertained (3),

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175 648 7. (cont.) "Kossogirskoi"; see *Dopoln. k" akt. istor.*, Vol. IV, St. Petersburg, 1851, p. 82.

1. Müller, *op. cit.*, p. 367; *Dopoln. k" aktam" istor.*, Vol. IV, p. 176.

2. See above, p. 25.

175 131 114 •[113] 3. Middendorff, *Reise*, etc., Vol. IV, p. 178. It is incomprehensible how Stuckenberg (*Hydrogr. des Russischen Reiches*, Vol. II, St. Petersburg, 1844, p. 749) could identify the Utschalda with the Udj. In doing this he confused the very simple and clear account from the expedition of the shipwrecked, and

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the Tugur River and the Gilyak then followed (5). But even at

5. Geogr. und Verfass. von Kamtschatka /Geography and Conditions on Kamchatka/, p. 57 (appendix to Steller's Beschr. von dem Lande Kamtschatka /Description of the Kamchatka Region/, Frankfurt and Leipzig, 1774.

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But even at
that time the Gilyak went as far as Tugur Bay, north of the mouth of the Tugur River, for /109/ on an old Russian handwritten map, whose origin Middendorff puts in the middle of the last century for several reasons, one finds the sketch of a "Gilyak towpath" (Gilyatskaya perevoloka), which led over the narrow, stem-shaped part of the Ssegneka Peninsula from Ulban Bay to Tugur Bay (1). By this route the Gilyak may also have

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1. Middendorff, Reise, etc., Vol. IV, p. 116, note 2. The map is in the library of the Akademie der Wissenschaften. Müller (in Büsching's Magaz. für die neue Hist. und Geogr., Part 2, second ed., 1769, p. 508) also mentions a towpath used by the Gilyak and therefore "called Giljazkaja perewoloko in Russian since ancient times." This, however, as he says, was used in order to avoid the northern promontory at the mouth of the Amur, since it ran from one brook, which empties to the south into the bay formed by the mouth of the Amur, to another brook which flows into the sea to the north. Müller adds that the latter brook bears the name "Gole" on Chinese maps and this indicates the towpath, for "Gole" evidently refers to the Gilyak village of Kolj or Kulj

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1. (cont.)
located on the seacoast and perhaps also to a brook of the same name. Here, therefore, there is to be understood either the passage from the Amur to Lake Tschlja and from there to Kulj, or from the Kamr River, which empties into the Amur immediately above Nikolayevsk, to the Hisska Brook down this to the sea only slightly east of Kulj. Both routes are still used by the Gilyak in order to go from the lower Amur to the seacoast or vice versa. Under no circumstances, however, can the "Giljatskaja perewoloka" mentioned by Müller refer to the towpath on the Ukakyt -- from the Nemilen to the Tugur -- as Middendorff (*Reise*, etc., Vol IV, p. 198) has presumed, because then neither the localities nor the designation "Gilyak towpath" would fit. The towpath mentioned in Stuckenberg (*Hydrogr. des Russ. Reiches*, Vol. II, p. 774) is the same as the one in Müller.

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come across Ulban Bay and Ssegneka Peninsula to the mouth of the Tugur. The same route was advantageous for them for another reason: they had to go across Ulban Bay to Ssegneka Peninsula and along the latter northward, if, on their coastal voyages, they wanted to reach the Shantar Islands without getting too far from land.

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There is still no mention of these islands in the reports cited above, though Pojarkof and Nagiba must have sighted them on their return trip from the Amur. In the oldest reports concerning them, which go back to 1709 and are based upon accounts by Cossacks stationed in Udskoi Ostrog and Tungus there, it is said that the Shantar Islands have no permanent inhabitants and are only visited by the Gilyak for hunting

175 131 [484] [224] /109 cont./
purposes (2). Müller thought that their name was of Gilyak

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2. Müller, Samml. Russ. Gesch., Vol. III, p. 97.

origin, since "schantar" means "island" in Gilyak (3), which,

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3. Op. cit., p. 96. Also in Büsching's Magaz. für die neue Histor. und Geogr., Part 2, second ed., p. 510.

however, is certainly not the case (4). When the Russians

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4. In Gilyak "island" is póllo-mif, a compound word in which mif means "earth" or "land"; thus, La-mif -- the Amur region, Laer-mif -- Sakhalin, Chagi-mif --part of the Amur-Liman, etc. I do not know the meaning of pollo. According to Middendorff (Reise, etc., Vol. IV, p. 108), the name "Schantar" first occurs on the handwritten map of the extreme eastern part of Siberia drawn up in 1720 and based on the works of the two surveyors, Jewreinof and Lushin, and, to be sure, on it the more southerly of the two easternmost islands of this group bears the name, "Schandarskij."

175 131 648 When The Russians
under the Cossack Semjon Anabara first came to the Shantar Islands in the summer of 1713, they found them uninhabited; on only one of the three islands visited by them, on which there were ample forests and good hunting and on which they spent the winter (5), did they meet a woman, whose language

5. According to Middendorff (op. cit.,

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5. (cont.)
p. 98), it was probably Large Shantar Island /Bolshoi/.

they could not understand -- presumably a /110/ Gilyak woman, who, however, disappeared, and there is no information given about her anywhere later (1). It cannot be determined whether in

1. Müller, op. cit., p. 99.

fact this woman had been left behind on the island by her countrymen or whether, as Middendorff thinks (2), was abducted

2. Reise, etc., Vol. IV, p. 103.

by the Cossacks themselves on the mainland and was brought to the island. Subsequent expeditions to the Shantars confirmed that they had no permanent inhabitants. 175 131 On the second trip, in 1718, under the Ssyn bojarskoi Filkejef, who, however, did not go there himself (3), the winter was spent on

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3. Müller (Samml. Russ. Gesch., Vol. III, p. 107), who spoke to Filkejef himself in Yakutsk, says expressly that because of differences with his men he had himself put ashore with two Cossacks at the mouth of the Tugur. Accordingly, therefore, the statements by Ssokolof ("Opis' Udskago ber. i Shantarsk. ostr. poruch. Kozmina /A Description of the Uda Bank and of the Shantar Islands, Commissioned by Kozmin/. Zap. Gidrogr. Depart., Part IV. St. Petersburg, 1846, p. 3, note 4) and by Middendorff (Reise, etc., Vol. IV, p. 99, note 1), who have Filkejef himself reach the Shantars, are to be corrected.

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175 [131] Large Shantar Island, which proved to be uninhabited. Through carelessness in making fire, it is said, the forests on the island caught fire and as a result the sable disappeared there. 175 648 On the return trip the following summer the Cossacks wanted to do some fishing along the coast of the mainland between the Tugur and the Amur, but most of them were killed by the Gilyak (4).

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4. Presumably there is a connection between this event and the story that Ssokolof relates, apparently copied verbatim from a logbook, in Morskoi Sbornik (1855, No. 6, Miscellany, p. 107 -- it is the entry hinted at by Middendorff, op. cit., p. 99, note 2, which he was unable to find again as the result of an incorrect citation). Seaman Petrof, who had participated in Iwan Schestakof's expedition to the Shantars in 1730, related that they had found on Large Shantar Island and had taken aboard three Russian men, who gave the following information about themselves: they had spent about 20 years on the island; when they had come to the land of the Gilyak to fish, the latter had overcome them and killed 17 of them; only three of them escaped the Gilyak and got away to Large Shantar Island where they had lived ever since. One can see that the account is quite similar to the one mentioned above, though, if it is the same event, the twenty-year stay on the island does not fit, since it could only be twelve. But this number is given only roughly and, in view of the style of the narrative, which clearly shows a gap, could just as well refer

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175 dubious. So far as is known, the Gilyak were never met there
131 directly during any of the numerous visits to these islands.
484 The pertinent accounts therefore only rest on the above-mentioned
statements by the neighboring Tungus /111/ and on alleged
traces that the temporary stay of the Gilyak on many of these
175 islands has left behind. According to Krascheninnikof
103 /Krasheninnikov/ (1), the island of Chudoi (i.e., bad) Shantar
is said to have received its name because it had no forest at
all, which, however, had not always been the case: formerly
it had been quite densely wooded and rich in sable, but the
Gilyak once forgot to extinguish the fire before leaving the
island, and all the forest on it was burned (2). Krascheninnikof,

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● [113] 1. "Opisanie zemli Kamchatki /Description of the Kamchatka Region/" (Poln. Sobr. uchen. putesh. po Rissi, Vol. I, St. Petersburg, 1818, p. 135).

175 131 114 103 2. Middendorff thinks that it is probably impossible to put the name "Chudoi Schantar," which is not marked on any map, in its proper place (Reise, etc., Vol. IV, p. 108, note 1). According to Krascheninnikof's statements, which he does not seem to have noted, it can hardly be doubted but that Small Schantar Island (Malyi Shantar") is meant by it, just as it is also by the name "Ssuchoi (dry) Schantar," according to Middendorff (loc. cit.). On the "Karte von der Lage von Kamtschatka" /Map of the Location of Kamchatka/ in Steller's pertinent work one finds an island "Hudé Schantar" west of the island of Bjelitschij, just as Krascheninnikof, too, gives it, but this

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a language other than the Tungusic one (1). Now, even though

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101 the above description by the Tungus of the Natka, their place of habitation, and their way of life agrees with Pojarkof's statements concerning the Natken and Chabarof's concerning the Atschanen, who likewise lived only from fishing and without agriculture and livestock-raising, and even though in this direction it fits the Goldi as well as the Olcha, it is not therefore to be assumed that the Tungus, especially the Negda, were likewise unable to distinguish between these two peoples

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101 not too far away from them. Experience has shown that, on the contrary, primitive peoples are inclined to regard even minor branches of one and the same people, individual families,

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1. Middendorff, Reise, etc., Vol. IV, p. 1536. Though this statement seems to leave no doubt but that "Ngatku" was a Tungusic designation for that Amur people, Middendorff says elsewhere (travel rep. in the Bull. de la cl. phys.-math. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc., Vol. IV, p. 235; the same, Beitr. zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reiches, Vol. IX, Part 2, p. 618) that he had received information on this people from the Gilyak. But in this case, too, these must have been border Gilyak adjacent to Tugur Bay, who obviously gave the traveler the name customary among their neighbors, the Tungus, for those people, for as much and as frequently as I myself inquired among the Gilyak on the Amur, the Liman, and on Sakhalin about the peoples known to them, I never heard the name Ngatku. In any case they have other designations for the Olcha and Goldi, which will be discussed later.

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G 10 114 175 do not provide any firm foothold. At first glance, it seems that somewhat more can be drawn from Stepanof's report since he built a fort, Kossogorskoi Ostrog, among the Gilyak in order to spend the winter there. As Romanof has shown, however, this place was most probably located on the island of Ssutschu located in the Amur near Kidsi. He found there the remains of a G. G1 [103] low earthen embankment with pits in it, traces of former earth dwellings -- the whole located on the inclined plane of a mountain slope so that the name Kossogorskoi Ostrog seems fully justified (1). From this I conclude that Stepanof did not spend the winter among the Gilyak at all, but among the Olcha, whom he, like Romanof and others later (2), did not distinguish from the Gilyak. This also explains his statements concerning the Djutscheren bordering the Gilyak: he includes under this name all the peoples on the lower Amur River -- the Goldi, Olcha, and Gilyak -- as is still repeatedly done in recent times. This sufficiently explains the contradiction between the statements by Stepanof and his predecessors, Pojarkof and Chabarof, concerning the peoples of the lower Amur, and at the same time reveals the former, as a consequence of the collective extension of the name Gilyak to entirely different peoples, as the most

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G. G1 [113] 1. D. Romanov", "Ocherk" miestnosti mezhdu zal. de Kastri i r. Amurom" /Essay on the Locality between De-Kastri Bay and the Amur River/" (Viestn. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Part XXIX, 1859, Sec. on Res. and Mat., p. 126, note 4). Müller (Samml. Russ. Gesch., Vol. II, p. 355) explained the name Kossogorskoi Ostrog from the location of the place "on the slope of a mountain." In Onufrij Stepanof's original account, this fort is not called Kossogorskoi, but Kossogirskoi Ostrog (Dopoln. k" akt. istor., Vol. IV, 1851, p. 82).

2. See above, p. 51, 183, 213.

RX2
Goldi RX3
Feudal Japan AB2
Sakhalin Island

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vague and the least useful for our purposes (3).

3. As was mentioned above (p. 234, note 5), Fischer, on the contrary, was inclined to regard Stepanof's account as the most authoritative. For this reason, on his map of old Siberia (Sibir. Gesch., Vol. II, Pl. II) he showed the Natken, who, perhaps in his opinion, could only be identical with the Gilyak, below the Atschanen, whereas, according to our interpretation of these names above, it should have been the other way around.

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The later, but still from the seventeenth-century, Russian accounts concerning the Amur region, and especially concerning the habitation sites of the Gilyak in it, such as we find in the "Tale from the Amur" published by Spasskij and in Witsen, have already been discussed (4). The pertinent statements are very general and in part even erroneous, because they are only taken from collected stories and not original reports, like those mentioned above.

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The next detailed reports concerning the habitation sites of the Gilyak, especially along the Amur River, do not come to us until more than a century later, and, to be sure, from quite different parties, from the Japanese. We owe them to the Japanese traveler, Mamia Rinsô /Rinzô Mamiya/, who, upon orders from his government, explored the west coast of Sakhalin in 1808 and 1809 and in 1810 also visted the lower Amur region, or Santan, as the Japanese called it. From /117/ Cape Rakka (Lak) (1) on Sakhalin he went over to the mainland, followed its

4. See above, pp. 196 ff.

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1. Siebold, to whom we are indebted for publishing the very valuable travels of Mamia Rinso ("Tô-tats ki ko," i.e., "Voyage to Eastern Tatary," in Nippon,

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Feudal Japan AB2
Sakhalin Island
Goldi RX3

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1. (cont.)
VII, pp. 167-196), thinks it highly probable that Cape Rakka referred to Cape Tekka, and the first name arose only through confusion of the very similar Japanese characters for Te and Ra (op. cit., p. 199, note 6). From my own knowledge of these localities, however, I must deny this. Cape Rakka is undoubtedly the low promontory of Lak, inasmuch as the Japanese, lacking the *l* sound in their language, as is well known, substitute an r for it; Cape Tekka, however, is the somewhat more southerly Cape Tyk.

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coast southward to Cape Musibo (in Taba Bay), pulled his boat across the much-traversed towpath to the small Taba River, traveled downstream by boat into Lake Kidsi, and thus reached the large village of Kidsi located on the Amur. From there he went up the Amur to what was then the trading station of Deren, stayed there a few days, and then returned to Sakhalin by following the Amur downstream to its mouth and crossing the Liman three times. On this voyage he came into close contact with the Gilyak and their southern neighbors on the Amur River, the Olcha. Both were already known to him and to the Japanese generally: the former both as permanent inhabitants of north Sakhalin and as frequent visiting traders in Ssiranussi; the latter only as occasional traders coming over from the mainland. Mamia Rinsô even spent the entire winter of 1809/10 on Cape Noteito (2) among the Sakhalin Gilyak. "Smerenkur" is the

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2. Between Cape Lak and Cape Tyk. There was no village there in my time.

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name that they bear in his travel account, as well as generally among the Japanese. A much-traveled Olcha from Tyr, who

2: Schrenck--244 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2
Feudal Japan AB2
Sakhalin ~~Island~~
Ainu AB6

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101 /117 cont./ A much-traveled Olcha from Tyr, who himself had repeatedly been with the Japanese on Sakhalin, named them for me as "Ssúmerenkur," expressly noting that this was the name that the Ainu, and following them, the Japanese, gave to the Gilyak. Indeed, its origin from the Ainu language is immediately evident from the final syllable, for "kur, kuru, guru" means "man" in it (3). Perhaps, however,

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3. Klaproth, Asia polyglotta, Paris, 1823, pp. 302, 309; Siebold, Nippon, VII, p. 198, note 5.

the etymology of the rest of this name can also be explained, for "ssúmari" among the Ainu of Sakhalin means "fox" (4), and

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4. According to Fr. Schmidt; see my "Bemerk. über die Säugethierfauna Süd-Sachalin's und der südl. Kurilen /Notes on the Mammalian Fauna of Southern Sakhalin and the Southern Kuriles/" (Bullet. de la cl. phys.-math. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc. de St. Petersb., Vol. IV, p. 420; Mél. biol., Vol. IV, p. 105). According to Klaproth (Asia polygl., p. 306; San kokf tsou ran to sets, ou Apercu génér. des trois royaumes /General Survey of the Three Kingdoms/, transl. from the Japanese-Chinese original, Paris, 1832, p. 245; see also Langsdorff, Bemerk. auf einer Reise um die Welt /Notes on a Voyage around the World/ Frankf. on the Main, 1812, Vol. I, p. 301) -- "schumari" and "schiumari."

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439 so "Ssumarinkur" would mean something like "fox people." I cannot say with certainty what made the Ainu give this name to the Gilyak: perhaps because, as middlemen in the trade between the Ainu and the Manchu-Chinese, they were the principal

2: Schrenck--245 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2
Ainu AB6
Goldi RX3
Feudal Japan AB2
Sakhalin Island

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G /117 cont. /
101 buyers of the furs captured by them and among them the fox
439 skins common on Sakhalin; or, what seems more probable to me, the name originated because the Gilyak in former times, with greater wealth than the Ainu, for the most part were themselves clothed in fox skins (5).

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5. In the seventeenth-century tale from the great Amur River (Viestn. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Part VII, 1853, Sec. II, p. 20) it is said that the Gilyak on the large island facing the mouth of the Amur wore sable and fox fur clothing.

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101 The situation is different with regard to the customary Japanese name for /118/ the Amur dwellers from Tungusic tribes who come from the mainland to Sakhalin for trade. I must note at once that they are not only Olcha, but in like measure Goldi, who, however, are not distinguished by the
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F.J. Ainu and Japanese, but rather are covered by the collective
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[103] name "Santan" or "S'janta." And then the region inhabited by them, the Amur region, is designated by the same name, after
ooo the people (1). Mamia Rinsô's predecessor, the Japanese

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1. During his visit to the island of Jesso /Yesso/ (1792), Adam Laxmann heard the Japanese speak of the "Sandan-aino" (Sandan people), who came to Sakhalin to trade; he, however, took them for Koreans (cf. Polonskii, "Kurily." -- Zap. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch. Po Otd. Etnogr., Vol. IV, 1871, pp. 493, 541). Krusenstern was quite erroneously told by the Japanese on Jesso and on Sakhalin that this latter island, or, as he heard in Aniwa, even only its northern part, was called "Sandan" by the Ainu

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RX2 ●
Ainu AB6
Feudal Japan AB2
Sakhalin Island
Goldi RX3

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/118 cont./

3. "Tô-tats ki ko" (Siebold, Nippon, VII, pp. 178, 198, note 3: also Nippon, I, p. 131).

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Tyre also gave the name as "S'janta," with which, according to him, the Ainu and after them the Japanese designate his people. And this leads us to what I consider the true origin of this name. It comes from the Gilyak. "Jant" or "Janta" is the Gilyak name for the Goldi. Now, since, on the one hand, the Gilyak are the immediate neighbors of the Ainu on Sakhalin and, on the other hand, the major and certainly the oldest middlemen in their trade with the Amur peoples up to the Manchu, it is scarcely conceivable but that the Ainu first became acquainted with the most numerous and most widespread of these peoples, the Goldi, through the Gilyak. And thus it is understandable that they also accepted the Gilyak name for them, only changed slightly in accordance with their language, and extended this name to the Olcha, who in their eyes were members of the same people (4).

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4. When, therefore, in a Russian document dated 1789, which Middendorff found among the archival papers in Udskoi Ostrog (Reise, etc., Vol. IV, p. 102, note) it is said that the Tungusic name for Sakhalin is "Jankur," one can easily recognize in it, by both the initial and the final syllables, the above-mentioned Ainu designation, through the mediation of the Gilyak, for the Tungusic Amur peoples visiting their island.

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/119/ Though the name Santan or S'janta is plainly used by the Ainu and Japanese on Sakhalin for the Olcha as well as for the Goldi, this is not at all the case in the travel report by Mamio Rinsô. Along the Amur he only stayed in the areas of the

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175 131 than that the neighbors adjacent to the Gilyak on the south were the same 200 years ago as they are today. The only thing known with absolute certainty is that the boundary situation which I found there in the fifties was exactly the same as it was half a century earlier.

175 131 If we now go back to the island of Sakhalin, we are faced there with an even greater scarcity of useful older reports. In the above-mentioned reports from the earliest expeditions that the Russians conducted to the mouth of the Amur and beyond, no special attention is given to it, though in one of them it is generally noted that the Gilyak also occupy the nearby islands in the ocean (1) which however, could just as well refer to the Shantar Islands (2). Not until the above-mentioned "Tale from the Great Amur River," likewise from the seventeenth century, and to a certain extent also in Witsen, is it said more precisely that opposite the mouth of the Amur there is a large island on which numerous "Gilyak peoples" live (3). Elsewhere Witsen

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1. In Pojarkof's report (see Müller, Samml. Russ. Gesch., Vol. II, p. 302).

[114] 2. Fischer, in this connection, actually confused Sakhalin with the Shantars (see his Sibir. Gesch., Part II, p. 788, and the map, "Sibiriae veteris," Pl. II).

[113] 3. Spasskii, "Svied. Russk. o r. Amurie v" XVII stol. /Information from the Russians concerning the Amur River in the Seventeenth Century/" (Viestn. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Part VII, 1853, Sec. II, p. 20). Witsen, Noord en Oost

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3. (cont.)
Tart., ed. of 1692, Pt. 2, p. 32; ed. of 1705, p. 87. Cf. also Müller, in Büsching's Magaz. für die neue Histor. und Geogr., Pt. 2, 2nd ed., p. 506.

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Elsewhere Witsen remarks that this island was called "Giliat" (4). What is said

4. Op. cit., ed. of 1705, p. 96.

otherwise about the places on this island that are mentioned, even though based on facts and the truth, nevertheless has the character of accounts based upon hearsay, as, for instance, the statement about the high reed thicket that makes its coast inaccessible, and the like. And as a matter of fact, we do not have any reliable reports on Sakhalin and its people in that period, not even brief ones like those on the Amur region, because this island had no contact with the Russians at all in the seventeenth century. Later on, in the eighteenth century, when the Russians undertook voyages to the Shantars, Sakhalin, as was mentioned above (5), was repeatedly visited by Russian

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5. See above, p. 171.

deserters, shipwrecked persons, etc., but no reports about it have come down to us.

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The oldest Chinese reports about Sakhalin provide just as slight a foothold. When the Jesuits Regis, Jartoux, and Fridelli drew up the map of the lower Amur River, the natives told them that opposite the mouth of the Amur /121/ there was an island which was inhabited by a people similar to them. Consequently, Emperor Kang-hi soon afterwards sent several Manchu to explore the island, and they crossed over to it in the boats of the natives, but, according to the testimony of the Jesuits, their task was

RX2
Manchu AG4
Feudal Japan AB2
Sakhalin Island

/121 cont./

G M 175 177 carried out very unsatisfactorily, since they did not go to the southern part of the island at all and even in the north they noted only the names of the villages through which they passed, while even the name of the island as a whole remained uninvestigated (1). We do not even learn from them the names of the peoples inhabiting the island.

F.J. G 175 178 We are again indebted to the Japanese for the first detailed reports on the peoples of Sakhalin, and, to be sure, the same travelers, Mogami Tok'nai (1785 and 1786) and Mamia Rinso (1808-1810). In 1613-1615, a century before the Manchu expedition, some Japanese were sent from Jesso /Yesso/

G M [103] [113] [114] 1. Du Halde, *Descr. de l'Emp. de la Chine et de la Tart. Chin*, Vol. IV, Paris, 1735, pp. 12, 13. According to the statements of the Manchu sent there, the natives on the mainland designate the island quite differently, each according to the villages that they visited on it, but the general name for it was "Saghalian anga hata," that is, "island of the mouth of the Black River," a designation which the Jesuits put on their map, and from which, as is well known the present name arose. According to Klaproth (*Asia polygl.*, p. 301), however, the words "Sachalian anga chada" mean only "rocks (not island) of the black river-mouth" and merely referred to some rocks lying close to the mouth of the Amur. I must note that the banks of the river at its mouth, especially the left one, are rocky, though not very high. But there are no individual rocks emerging from the water in front of it. For more of the many names given to Sakhalin,see below.

RX2
Ainu AB6
Feudal Japan AB2

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000 3. Steller, op. cit., p. 248, note a.

G A 101 175 Among their neighbors on Sakhalin, the Gilyak, the Ainu have a quite similar sounding name, "Kughi" (4), which is also in

A G [104] 4. I write gh when the g is strongly guttural, between g and ch.

A [192] general use among the Gilyak of the mainland (5). Undoubtedly

G ● [113] 5. Middendorff heard the Gilyak in Tugur Bay call the Kuriles "Kuwi" (see his travel report in the Bull. de la cl. phys.-math. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc. Vol. IV, pp. 233, 235; also Beitr. zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reiches, Vol. IX, Part 2, pp. 615, 618).

all these names have the same origin in that they all, as Klaproth states for the name Kuriles, arose from the word "kur" or "kuru," which means "human being" in the Ainu language (6).

A [113] 6. Klaproth, Asia polyglotta, p. 300. In San kokf tsou ran to sets (pp. 183, 184) "kur" is said to mean "tribe /Stamm/, tribus."

A F.J. 175 103 A 101 Moreover, the Kurile Islands, as the Japanese Araï Tsikugo noted in 1720 among other valuable reports concerning them, were embraced under the collective name "Kuru-misi" (that is, Land of Man) by the Ainu (7). Here, then, is the simple explanation of that name for the people and the land.

A F.J. 103 173 114 F.J. 113 7. Araï Tsikugo, "Jeso-ki, ou Descr. de Jesso," op. cit., pp. 192, 207, 211. Cf. also Klaproth's additions to San kokf tsou ran to sets, pp. 191, 193, 194, -- following the same Japanese source.

/129 cont./

A 175 114 101

1. (cont.)
and the Eluntschun (Orok) as those of the southern part, whereas it should be the other way around.

A 101 175 [648]

similarly, The archimandrite Palladij mentions the "Kuã" (Ainu) among the peoples of Girin Province, from whom formerly, according to Chinese reports, a large tribute in sable furs was collected for the court of Peking (2). We now understand when in the Chinese

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2. Arkh. Palladii, "Dorozhn. zam. na puti ot" Pekina do Blagovieshch., chrez" Manch'zhuriiu, v" 1870 g. /Travel Notes on the way from Peking to Blagoveshchensk by way of Manchuria in 1870/" (Zap. Russk. Geogr. Obshch. Po obshch. Geogr., Vol. IV, 1871, p. 399).

imperial geography (3) the "Lerkoje" (4), or, as Pauthier (5)

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3. Tai Tsing hoei tien, Vol. XI; see Ritter, Erdkunde von Asien /Geography of Asia/, Vol. III, p. 444.

4. Ritter adds in parenthesis: "Koje of the maps."

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5. Chine moderne, ou descr. hist., géogr. et littér. de ce vaste empire, Paris, 1853, Part 1, p. 168.

G [103] [101]

writes it, "Li-eurh-kou-yé," are named, among others, among the tributary peoples of the Ssan-ssin district. They are the Sakhalin Ainu, for "Laer, Laerch," or "Laer-mif," is the Gilyak name for Sakhalin (6), and "Koje" ~~or~~ "Kuyě" ~~must~~, after what has been said, refer to the Ainu.

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6. Middendorff, too, heard the name

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000 G A 101 after what has been said, refer to the Ainu. The exact Gilyak designation for the Sakhalin Ainu would therefore be "Laer-kughi," which closely corresponds to the above name in the Chinese imperial geography (7). Just as the Ainu and Japanese borrowed from the Gilyak the designation S'janta for the Goldi (and Olcha), so to the same people do the Manchu and
A G [439] Chinese owe their name for the Ainu. As we shall see later, along with the trade goods that the Gilyak traders carried back and forth between the Ainu and Japanese and the Manchu-Chinese they were also the middlemen among them for those tribal names.

A 101 175 G 101 103 ● 113 6. (cont.) "Laer" for Sakhalin among the Gilyak along the Sea of Okhotsk (see his travel report in the *Bullet. de la cl. physico-math. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc.*, Part IV, p. 233; also *Beitr. zur Kenntniss des Russ. Reichs*, Vol. IX, Part 2, p. 615).

G A [101] [103] [114] 7. Might not perhaps also the name "Huyé," which, according to Du Halde (*Descr. de l'Emp. de la Chine*, Vol. IV, p. 13), several persons in Peking wanted to give to the island of Sakhalin, and about which the Manchu sent to investigate it thought that it was not known to either the natives on the mainland or to those of the island, be only a distortion of the word Kughi or Kuã, that is, of the designation for one people of the island?

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6. (cont.)
(*Zap. Russk. Geogr. Obshch. Po obshch. Geogr.* Vol. IV, 1871, p. 399; the same, "Ussuriiskie Man'tszy /The Ussurie Man-dse/" (*Izviestiia Russk. Geogr. Obshch.*, Vol. VII, 1871, Sec. II, pp. 93, 123).

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repeatedly designated for me by the Goldi on the Ussuri with the immediately recognizable name "Kākar," but once also only quite generally and vaguely as "Lámuka" (sea dwellers). It is noteworthy that the former name is also customary among the Gilyak for the Orochi. During his stay among the Sakhalin Gilyak, Mamia Rinsô learned of a "Kiakkara" people, who were said to live on the mainland opposite (7), and later in

7. "Tô-tats ki ko" (Siebold, *Nippon*, VII, p. 169).

Taba Bay, when he himself visited the mainland, he saw their vessels, which came from afar, he thought from the vicinity of Kôraï (Korea) (8). Among the Gilyak along the Sea of Okhotsk,

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8. *Op. cit.*, p. 171. Prompted by a fortuitous similarity of sound, Siebold attempts a far-fetched interpretation of this name by saying that "Kiak kara" reminds one of the Mountain Kirgiz, called Kara, that is, the Blacks (*op. cit.*, p. 199).

Middendorff heard of a "Kjāchkal" people who were said to live along the Amur and beyond it (9). A Gilyak from Ytkyrn in the

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9. Travel report in the *Bull. de la cl. physico-math. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc.*, Vol. IV, p. 235; *Beitr. zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reichs*, Vol. IX, Part 2, p. 618.

Gi 101 174 /149 cont./

G [101] [174] Jant, Tscholdok or Tscholdoch (2), Manchu." Now since the habitation sites of the Goldi are immediately adjacent to those of the Manchu, both the Jant and the Tscholdok fall to them, in that the former are evidently the lower Goldi, the latter the upper Goldi, perhaps reckoning from the Geong Range or from Dondon. From "Tscholdok," however, it seems to me, "Kordekke" in the Japanese version and "Goldi" in the Russian could easily have arisen. Just like the names "Janty" or "Anty" among some Russian writers (3) for the Goldi and "S'janta" or "Santan" among the Ainu and Japanese, so, too, may these designations for the same people, "Goldi" and "Kordekke," owe their origin to Gilyak mediation.

Gi 101 175 [184] Gi [131] There is a causal connection between the frequently mentioned difference between the lower and the upper Goldi, which has even brought them different names from several sides, and the changes which have taken place in the historical period in the boundaries of their area of distribution. Whereas at present time the Goldi occupy a continuous territory which extends approximately from the Gorin mouth, up the Amur and the Ussuri almost to the sources of the latter, and into the Sungari region,
M. G 101 175 this was not the case at the time when we first become acquainted with the Goldi. When Pojarkof /Poyarkov/ (1644), Chabarof /Khabarov/ (1651), and Stepanof (1655) undertook their bold

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G [113] 2. Among the Gilyak on the Sea of Okhotsk, Middendorff also heard of a "Tschjoldö" people living on the Amur (see his travel report in the Bull. de la cl. physico-math. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc., Vol. IV, p. 235; the same in the Beitr. Zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reiches, Vol. IX, Part 2, p. 618).

3. Iakinf, according to Wassiljef; see above, p. 302 ff.

RX2
Historical Manchuria AG2
Manchu AG4
Goldi RX3

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H.M /189 cont./ However
101 that may be, the name Nikan /190/ for the Chinese has, with
175 minor variations, penetrated to all the other Amur peoples
648 from the Manchu. I heard it in the lower Amur region among
G. the Goldi, Olcha, and Gilyak. To be sure, they ordinarily
Gi also call the Chinese merchants simply Manchu, but with more
[101] precise questioning they know very well how to indicate that
the former actually belong to another people subjugated by the
latter, which the Goldi and the Olcha named for me as the
"Nekan," the Gilyak sometimes "Neka" and "Nekagu" (1), at
000 other times "Nenga" (2). Since the Manchu officials are

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1. Corresponding in form to the Gilyak names for the Negda, "Rdhy" and "Rdhyngu" (see p. 67 ff. above). Could it be that the suffix "gu" designates the collective idea, or means "people," like the Ainu "kur" or "gur"?

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2. As a curiosity and example of how fundamentally wrong and thoughtless the statements of hasty travelers may be at times when it is a matter of the name that a people gives itself, the remark by Gamof will serve ("Iz" putev. zamiet. astronoma, opredieliavsh. v" 1859g. miestn. rr. Amura i Usuri /From the Travel Notes of an Astronomer Who Determined the Location of the Amur and Ussuri Rivers/." -- Zap. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., 1862, Book I, Section on Research and Materials, p. 122), maintaining in all seriousness that the Goldi and Gilyak designated themselves with the name "Nikanzen." Peschtschurof /Peshchurov/ (Petermann's Geogr. Mittheil., 1857, p. 304) speaks of "Nekanen" in what we called the civilized section of the Amur River without, it seems, realizing that there were Chinese.

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2: Schrenck--408 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2
Feudal Japan AB2
Kamchadal RY3
Goldi RX3
Southeast Siberia RX1

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3. (cont.)
of the Kamchatka Region/"(Poln. sobr. uchen. puteshestvii po Rossii, Vol. II, p. 49).

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says the same, but more vaguely and evidently repeating Steller; according to him, however, Italmen needles are supposedly called "schischj," and, accordingly, the Japanese, "Schischaman." The following will show that this explanation is wrong and based on a misunderstanding. Names for the Japanese quite similar to those used by the Kamchadal are used by the Amur peoples, at least those on the island of Sakhalin and along the lower course of the Amur. The Gilyak on the mainland and on the island call them "Ssisam" (4), and the Olcha and Goldi, "Ssissa" (5).[2]

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4. Therefore, when in a handwritten document from 1744 found by Middendorff in the archives of Udskoi Ostrog there is mention of the "Ssysaizy," who are said to have destroyed a vessel in the mouth of the Amur (cf. his Reise in den äuss. Nord. etc., Vol. IV, p. 165), it is undoubtedly the Japanese who are being referred to by their Gilyak name transformed by the Russians. Middendorf himself, by the way, had heard the name "Ssissan" among the Gilyak along the Sea of Okhotsk, but he thought that it referred to the southern Kurile Islands (cf. Bull. de la cl. physico-math. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc., Vol. IV, p. 233; also Beitr. zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reiches, Vol. IX, Part 2, p. 615).

[2] [Footnote "(5)" appears on p. 409--Analyst]

2: Schrenck--443 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2 ●
Southeast Siberia RX1

SS 162 G 174 161 361 /317 cont./ A more numerous Gilyak population on the island in former times is indicated, among other things, by the fact that on the west coast there are two villages which bear the name "Pilja-wo," that is, great village, the one on the Sea of Okhotsk, the other on the northern part of the Sea of Japan, and both are highly insignificant today (3).

G SS ●[113] 3. According to Glehn ("Reiseber. von der Insel Sachalin /Travel Report from the Island of Sakhalin/." -- Beitr. zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reiches, Vol. XXV, p. 233), the first of these villages has only one yurt today; concerning the other one, which has three of them, see above, p. 29, note 1. G [114] [731] Incidentally, when Glehn, while discussing these traces of a formerly larger population on the Gilyak part of Sakhalin, also mentions the smallpox which broke out devastatingly in the fifties, this has nothing to do with the depopulation under discussion here. This is the above-mentioned epidemic of the winter of 1857/58, which at that time was still fresh in the memory, whereas that village had been deserted long before. But the smallpox left other marks of devastation behind, which will be discussed later.

SS 162 [132] Nevertheless, this west coast of Sakhalin, turned toward the continent and the mouth of the Amur, is now, next to the Tymy /Tym'/ Valley, the most populous part of the island; the east coast with its much harsher climate is understandably much more deserted.

SS 161 114 /318/ I must content myself with these general remarks concerning the more or less large population of the various parts of the Amur region and forgo numerical values because of the lack of adequate data. To be sure, one does occasionally find statements concerning the total number of individuals for particular SS [175] Amur peoples, but these figures have little value. That the data

SS /319 cont./

161 114 361 the number of villages clearly cannot be a yardstick for judging the number of the population, because the villages are extremely variable in size, and some of them, for example, consist of only one house (3). The single factor in which, lacking a direct

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3. Although all the later statements concerning the number of persons of the indigenous peoples of the Amur region, which, as a consequence of the Russian occupation and colonization of it, must have undergone great changes, lie outside the scope of this work, I should like to mention one of these statements here in passing, because it refers, or is supposed to refer, especially to the Gilyak who are in the forefront of my considerations. G [113] I am referring to the estimate of their number (in the years 1878-1880) made by Dr. N. Seeland in his article, "Die Ghiljaken, eine ethnographische Skizze" (Russische Revue, ed. by Carl Röttger, Vol. XXI, St. Petersburg, 1882, p. 99). After he had considered the tax figures of the Russian ispravniks (district chiefs) for the mainland and with regard to Sakhalin questioned traveling fur traders, he came to the conclusion that "the whole Gilyak people amounts to 8,000 souls." The particulars of this total number, given according to the individual districts, explain its exceedingly large size, but at the same time make it absolutely untenable. G [162] For the number of the Gilyak of the Nikolayev District (from the seacoast up the Amur to Mariinsk), de Castries Bay, and Kaiserhafen is said to amount to about 4,000, the Gilyak in the Sofisk District (from Mariinsk to the Gorin) 1,000, and he estimates the number of Sakhalin Gilyak at about 3,000. G [101] According to this, Dr. Seeland includes as Gilyak

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361 1. (cont.)

Amur was covered with ice. In the spring of 1855, I found the Gilyak in the village of Ssabach, the first above Nikolayevsk, already in their summer dwellings located beside the winter houses on May 16 (28); in the villages farther upstream, however, up to Tacht, they had not yet moved into them at that time.

361 342 114 sometimes the Gilyak living together in one village in winter separate to go to different places for the summer, only to come together again in the fall. If the winter and summer houses are located beside one another, as, for instance, in Wair (or Wait, as the Russians call it), the village seems much larger and more populous than it actually is. More than half of all the houses are then the summer houses, much smaller in comparison with the ordinary, large winter-houses, and some of the larger storehouses, /321/ similar to the former in construction, could easily be taken for living quarters. This explains the excessively large number of houses that is given by some travelers for individual Gilyak villages (1). On the other hand, if the

361 342 114 ● 113 1. Krusenstern (Reise um die Welt /Journey around the World/, St. Petersburg, 1811, Vol. II, p. 162) counted 27 houses in one Gilyak (according to him, "tatarischen") village, which was located on the northern end of Sakhalin between the capes Elisabeth and Maria. For another village, on Nadeshda Bay, he gives 16 to 18 houses, but the description of it clearly permits one to recognize summer and winter dwellings the latter of which, moreover, stood empty (op. cit., pp. 178, 182, 183). Orlof, on the occasion of his first trip to the Gilyak on the Sea of Okhotsk (in July, 1849), gave the number of houses in the village of Kulj as 46 (cf. Tikhmenev", Istor. Obozr. obraz. Ross.-

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361 1. (cont.)
342 *Amerik. Komp.* /Historical Survey of the Forma-
114 tion of the Russian-American Company/, Part II,
● [113] St. Petersburg, 1863, p. 64), many of which were certainly only storehouses.

summer and winter houses lie apart as two separate villages, the number of individual villages appears larger to the uninitiated traveler and in another way he again gets the impression of a larger population for the region than it actually has. Later on I shall return to the number of houses in the individual villages of the Gilyak, after we have first come to know in greater detail the construction and nature of their summer and winter dwellings.

342 It is chiefly climatic reasons that make it necessary for the
132 Gilyak to build separate dwellings for winter and for summer. In winter it is important to be protected against the exceedingly severe cold, often accompanied by violent storms and snowfalls; in summer, on the other hand, to counteract the excessive humidity which is caused by the maritime location and the constant oceanic winds, fogs, and rains. The former requires rooms that are as tight as possible and enclosed by windproof walls, while the latter, on the contrary, can be achieved only by more open dwellings with a constant circulation of air. To combine both adequately in one structure seems to be beyond the strength and means of a primitive people. Let us now see how the Gilyak meet the challenge.

342 The winter houses of the Gilyak are of two types: a simpler one, peculiar and primitive -- the earth yurt, and a more complicated one copied from the Chinese design, which deserves the name of house rather than yurt (2), and which I shall call simply winter

192 2. The Russians originally designated the tent-
113 like dwellings of the Siberian natives with this
342 word (Russ.: *yurta*) of Finnish-Tataric origin (cf. Ahlqvist, *Die Culturwörter der westfinnischen* Sprachen /The Cultivated Words of the West

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192 342 [113] 2. (cont.)
Finnish Languages/, Helsingfors, 1875, p. 105). Gradually, however, it became common among them for all the dwellings of same, of whatever kind they might be, in contrast to the log or beam houses of the Russian peasants (Russ.: izba) or to other European houses, and one also often finds it used in this wider sense in the travel accounts referring to Siberia. Accordingly, the Russians in the Amur region as a rule call the Gilyak winter-house a yurt, and this term is used in the same sense in this work.

342 house or Chinese winter-yurt. The earth yurt, toryf of the Gilyak, is built exactly on the pattern of a tent: in actuality it is nothing more than a more or less spacious, immovable tent half sunk into the ground and roofed over with beams. If there is to be such a large yurt of this kind, a hole about 20-22 feet square and about 3-4 feet deep is dug in the ground; its walls are smoothed or, at least the upper part, covered with thin beams.
[335] Around it there is erected a pyramidal /322/ roof slanting upward evenly on all sides, which consists of thin beams placed close to one another and resting on four crossbeams, which, in turn, are supported by four supporting posts (a) inside the yurt. /Illustration
[354] appears here./ Only at the peak of the roof is an opening left to serve as a smoke vent. In order to make the roof airtight, it is covered on the outside with dry grass and soil. In the autumn when snow falls on it, the whole yurt from the outside merely looks like a snow-covered hill slightly blackened at the top by the rising smoke. The entrance (b) is found on the side of the yurt which is away from the prevailing winds or is most protected from the wind. It does not lead directly into the yurt, however, but rather into a quite long, low, gradually descending passageway (c), likewise roofed over with thin beams or tree branches and dry grass, in which, at both sides, either a few household utensils are kept or the place for the dogs is

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342 184 The question now arises as to which one of the two types of winter houses described above prevails among the Gilyak in the various parts of their territory. At the time of my stay in the Amur region (1854-1856) the earth yurt was almost exclusively confined to Sakhalin, but there it far predominated over the Chinese winter-yurts. The east coast of the island and the Tymy Valley had only the earth yurt (1). On the west coast of Sakhalin, as far as it borders on the northern part of the Sea of Japan, i.e., from Pilja-wo, the southernmost point of the Gilyak, to Poghobi, there were also only earth yurts (2). But from there northward, along the Liman and the Sea of Okhotsk up to the northern tip of the island, there were villages consisting sometimes of earth yurts, sometimes of Chinese yurts, and at times both types of 114 342 184 361 winter dwellings occurred beside each other. I myself have not been in this part of Sakhalin, but have collected detailed information on the villages in it, as well as on the number and character of their yurts, from, among others, Gilyak residing there, who visited me at the Nikolayev post in the company of Tschcharbach-Gilyak friends of mine (3). A few years later

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[113] 1. Mizul's /Mitsul'/ statement (Ocherk" ostr. Sakhalina v" sel'sko-khoz. otnosh. /Agricultural Outline of Sakhalin Island/, St. Petersburg, 1873, p. 134).

[113] [114] 2. In 1861, Glehn ("Reiseber. von der Ins. Sachalin /Travel Report from the Island of Sakhalin/." -- Beitr. zur Kenntn. d. Russ. Reiches, Vol. XXV, p. 234) found in Poghobi a "large Manchurian" yurt (or two?), which, however, did not exist in my time, as I can definitely assert since in 1855 and 1856 I was at this place no less than four times.

/332 cont./
342 there are certainly no longer any earth yurts. Along the bays
184 of Tugur and Ulban, where Middendorff became acquainted with
[361] the Gilyak, they live in the winter, as I gather from his handwritten notes (1), in exactly the same type of houses as on the Liman and Amur. It therefore cannot be assumed that matters are different in the area between Kulj and Ulban Bay, the only stretch for which we do not have eyewitness accounts. The Gilyak, too, though I often asked them about it, knew of no earth yurt on the mainland to report to me other than the abovementioned one of Pättach.

342 In brief, therefore, among the Gilyak on the mainland, as
184 far as their distribution extends, the Chinese yurt at present repre-
174 sents the only form of winter dwelling; on the island of Sakhalin, however, it occurs only on the west coast opposite the mainland, along the Liman, and on the Sea of Okhotsk, interspersed with earth yurts, while in all the other Gilyak parts of the island, only this latter form is found. From this distribution of the two types of winter dwellings one may conclude that the earth yurt is the original dwelling peculiar to the Gilyak, which was formerly also used generally on the mainland, but later was driven out, little by little and finally entirely on the mainland and in large part on the coast of Sakhalin adjacent to it, by a foreign form that came down the Amur, and /333/ has been preserved only among
[191] the more remote insular Gilyak. Finally, arguing in favor of the view that the earth yurt is in fact the original winter dwelling of the Gilyak, apart from its above-mentioned exceedingly simple and primitive construction in imitation of a tent, is the fact that with only slight modifications it is also found among all the other Paleo-Asiatic peoples.

●[113] [354] 1. In his travel report, too (see Beitr. zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reichs, Vol. IX, Part 2, p. 619), he mentions the "functional pipes carrying heat under the sleeping benches in the houses" of the Gilyak there.

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in more ancient times (1).

1. Weniaminof, op. cit., p. 201.

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After this digression, which acquainted us with the earth yurt in its various modifications as the original winter dwelling of all the Paleo-Asiatic peoples as far as Greenland and the extreme northern part of America, let us again return to our point of departure, the Amur region and the Gilyak. While the earth
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yurt, the toryf, is the original, national winter-dwelling of the Gilyak, the tschadryf, erected on level ground and equipped with pipe heating, must be designated as a later form of winter dwelling brought to them from the outside, from contact with
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other peoples, chiefly through Chinese influence. I have therefore called it above simply the Chinese winter-yurt. Glehn (2),

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2. "Reisebericht von der Insel Sachalin" (Beiträge zur Kenntn. des Russischen Reichs, Vol. XXV, 1867, pp. 233 ff.).

Schmidt (3), Mizul (4), and others call it the "Manchurian

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3. "Histor. Ber.," etc. -- Beitr. zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reichs, Vol. XXV, p. 120.

4. Ocherk" o. Sakhalina, St. Petersburg, 1873, p. 134.

yurt," but, if this is not merely another one of those frequent confusions of the Chinese in the Amur region with the Manchu, as was discussed above (5), as I believe it to be, then it can be

5. See, p. 144, and note 2, in this work.

argued that the Manchu borrowed this way of constructing their winter houses from the Chinese.

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352 171 113 The French missionary Venault (8) and the Korean Kimaï-

> 8. "Excursion dans les parties intér. de la Mandchourie, 1850" (Nouv. Ann. des Voyages, Nouv. Sér., Vol. XXX, 1852, Vol. II, p. 208).

Kim (9) likewise mention the kang in the houses of Ninguta,

> 9. "Lettre à Mgr. Ferréol, évèque de Belline, 1844" (Nouv. Ann. des Voyages, Nouv. Sér., 1847, Vol. I, p. 71).

Girin, Ssan-Ssin, and other places which they touched on their travels through Manchuria, /352/ and later travelers, such as Williamson (1), Barabasch (2), and others found it in general

> 1. Journeys in North China, Manchuria and eastern Mongolia, London, 1870, Vol. II, p. 229.
>
> 2. "Sungariiskaia eksped. 1872 g." (Voenn. Sborn., Vol. XVII, 1874, No. 2, p. 332).

use along the Sungari, Nonni, Churcha or Mutuan-ho, etc. (3).

> 3. In the middle of the house, where among the Gilyak the dogs' table stands, there is an elevation made of clay or bricks with a cavity the size of an ordinary tub. Wood and charcoal are kept burning in it, so that it is always full of hot ashes; kettles with hot water stand there for replenishing the tea cups, brandy and beer are warmed there in tin containers, etc. Williamson, op. cit.

/352 cont./

342 Nevertheless, this type of house construction, with a system of
354 pipes going out from the hearth, running under the sleeping
171 benches, and opening into a chimney standing outside the house,
352 is by no means of an indigenous Manchurian origin, but rather
of undoubtedly Chinese origin, introduced by the Chinese from the motherland to Manchuria as well as to their other colonies. For the same type of house construction is found everywhere in North China (4) and in other countries which, like Manchuria, are

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4. Though there is hardly a work about China in which there is not also mention of the *kang* as a characteristic peculiarity of the Chinese dwelling, I want to mention here a few, in part older, in part more detailed discussions or descriptions of it; for example, in Du Halde (*Descript. géogr., hist., chronol., polit. et litér. de l'Empire de la Chine et de la Tart. Chinoise*, Paris, 1735, Vol. II, p. 87), Van Braam (*Voyage de l'Ambassade de la Comp. des Indes orientales Hollandaises vers l'Empereur de la Chine en 1794 et 1795*, publ. by Moreau de St. Mery, Paris, year VI (1798), Vol. I, p. 346), Davis (*La Chine ou descript. génér. des moeurs et des coutumes etc. de l'empire Chinois*, transl. from Eng. by Pichard, Paris, 1837, Vol. I, p. 331), Huc (*L'Empire Chinois*, Paris, 1854, Vol. II, p. 380), Fleming (*Travels on horseback in Mantchu Tartary*, London, 1863, pp. 192-194 and 251 among others), Poussielgue (*Voyage en Chine et en Mongolie de M. et de Mme. de Bourboulon*, Paris, 1866, p. 24), and Girard (*France et Chine, vie publ. et privée des Chinois*, Paris, 1869, Vol. II, p. 384), among others.

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more or less under Chinese domination, in Mongolia (5),

5. Gmelin (Reise durch Sibirien von dem J. 1733-1743, Göttingen, 1751, Vol. I, p. 448), Pallas (Reise durch versch. Prov. des Russ. Reichs, Vol. III, St. Petersburg, 1776, p. 116), and others gave detailed descriptions of the kang and the rest of the construction of the Chinese houses in Maimatschin opposite Kjachta. In Huc (Souv. d'un Voyage dans la Tart., le Thibet et la Chine, Paris, 1850, Vol. I, p. 13), there is one from Mongolia near the Chinese border.

Korea (6), etc. In larger and more neatly built houses, espe-

[113] 6. Williamson, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 304. Przheval'skii, Putesh. v" Ussuriisk. kraie, St. Petersburg, 1870, p. 107.

cially in the cities, there are, of course, all kinds of modifications and complications in the heating of the houses, just as in the rest of the construction; for example, the number of kang varies according to the number of rooms (7), the heating pipes

[113] 7. How many kang there should be in the various legation hotels is set forth in "Tai-Tsing hoei-tien." Pauthier, Chine moderne, Paris, 1843, Part II, p. 218.

run, not only under the sitting and sleeping benches, but also under the floor and in the walls separating the rooms (8), etc.,

[113] 8. Van Braam, op. cit. Reise der Oesterr. Fregatte "Novara" um die Erde in den J. 1857-1859 unter den Befehlen des Kommod. B. v. Wüllerstorf-Urbair /Voyage of the Austrian Frigate "Novara" around the World under the Command of Commodore B. von Wüllerstorf-Urbair/, Anthropol. Part,

/352 cont./

by means of which an evenness of temperature is attained in the house to an extent inconceivable in the primitive dwellings of the Amur peoples.

352 Finally, the fact that the heated sleeping benches are
354 used by the Gilyak and all the other Amur peoples in exactly
516 the same way as by the Chinese also /353/ argues in favor of
171 the Chinese origin of them. According to U-tschen, the
513 Chinese always lie crosswise on the kang (1), with their feet toward the wall (2), and the same is also observed by the Gilyak and the other Amur peoples with superstitious strictness, whereas in the earth yurts, one sleeps in the opposite position, with the
[123] head toward the wall. In a Gilyak winter-house on the Amur,
when I once placed my head against the wall, as in the earth
[784] yurt, in order to have a support for my pillow, it aroused gen-
[777] eral indignation among the Gilyak, and the cry "uïtsch, uïtsch," which means the same as "misfortune" or "unlucky, forbidden," rang out on all sides. The reason why the Chinese always assume this position on the kang is said to be that the part of the sleeping bench that joins the wall is especially warm because of the pipe

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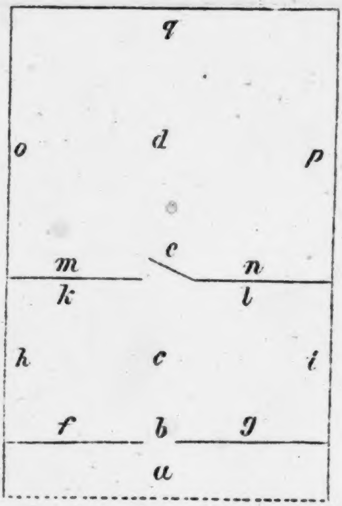
342 8. (cont.)
352 Section 3: "Ethnographie, auf Grund des von
354 Dr. Karl von Scherzer gesammelt. Materials
171 bearb. von Friedrich Müller /Ethnography,
[113] on the Basis of Material Collected by Dr. Karl von Scherzer and worked up by F. Müller/," Vienna, 1868, p. 158. In the last-named work the heating by pipes is called "Russian type," though this is by no means a national Russian arrangement.

[177] 1. Cf. Wassilijef's translation of U-tschen's writing, op. cit., p. 98.

2. Pallas, op. cit. In the Amur region, too, I have never seen Chinese sleep otherwise on the kang.

343 [251] /358 cont./ For the storing of the supplies prepared in summer, there are special storehouses, which, however, since consumption takes place in winter, are always located beside the winter dwellings, and the supplies are carried to them as they accumulate.

The storehouses of the Gilyak (njö, in the Tro and Tymy dialect njo) /illustration appears here/ appear at first glance to be very similar to the summer dwellings in that, like them, they rest on piles (on which the above-mentioned pieces of birch bark may not be absent) (2) and have the same kind of walls and roofs, indeed, even the same balcony-like sill on the front side, to which one climbs on a thin, notched beam, which can easily be taken away; but even the largest of them are always smaller than the latter, and the entrance is likewise lower and narrower, indeed, sometimes



Plan of a Gilyak Storehouse (njö, njo).

a -- Balcony-like sill on the front side of the house. b -- Entrance opening. c -- Front section, d -- rear section. e -- Door between them. f to q -- The eleven wall surfaces.

• [113] [171] 2. Pallas (Reise durch versch. Prov. des Russ. Reiches, Vol. III, p. 482) mentions that the Cheremis along the Kama and Wjatka, like most of the Kasan Tatars, put their sheaves of stored grain in round, pointed heaps above four piles connected by beams and covered with bark, which makes them inaccessible to mice.

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342 in general and in the individual areas. Such principal and [177] central points are of special importance for the ethnographer, because here the national character of a people as a rule appears more sharply and precisely stamped and the peculiar usage and customs remain protected longer against foreign influences, whereas in smaller villages it more readily happens that, as a result of personal intercourse, the mixed marriages of the few residents with members of a neighboring tribe, etc., many a national characteristic is obliterated; indeed, in the course of time many a foreign idea or custom finds entry, for which I shall have more than one opportunity to cite examples in the following.

Unfortunately, I am not in a position to give the number of winter dwellings in the whole Gilyak area. In those parts through which I traveled, such as along the Amur River and the Liman on the mainland, on Sakhalin along the west coast from Poghobi to Duĭ and in the interior along the entire Tymy River to somewhat north of its mouth, I have been able to ascertain it myself by my own count, and in other adjacent parts, such as on the west coast of Sakhalin north of Poghobi and south of Duĭ, by means of many inquiries among the Gilyak. For the east coast of Sakhalin a few statements by Glehn are available (1). Only on the parts of the Gilyak territory along the Sea of Okhotsk do we not have /361/ any data at all, except for the small stretch between Kulj and the Amur Liman likewise visited by me (1).

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[113] 1. "Reiseber. von der Insel Sachalin" (Beiträge zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reiches, Vol. XXV, p. 235).

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1. Middendorff was told during his stay on Tugur Bay (in 1844) that there were four large Gilyak villages between Cape Umelongte (Muktelja), the point of this coast

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342 1. (cont.)
131 which projects farthest to the north, and
361 the mouth of the Amur (Beitr. zur Kenntn.
des Russ. Reiches, Vol. IX, Part 2, St.
113 Petersburg, 1855, p. 618).

103 For the sake of clarity and because many of the individ-
361 ual villages of the Gilyak will be mentioned repeatedly in the
342 course of this work, I give the following tabular list of all the
114 Gilyak villages, in part from me, and mostly from personal
129 experience, and in part from Glehn's statements, and the num-
ber of their winter dwellings.

000 /The following chart, which runs across pp. 362-363 in the original text, is given on four pages in the translation, the first page bearing the four columns pertaining to the mainland, the second page bearing the four columns pertaining to Sakhalin, and the next two pages containing the final column of notes./

/364 cont./

361 principal points, Tacht and Patt, exceed that number. Along the Liman, Langr in the north and Tschomi in the south are in dominant positions, the former as the chief exchange point between the mouth of the Amur, the coast of the Sea of Okhotsk and North Sakhalin, the latter in constant communication with both the west coast of Sakhalin, the Tymy and Tro Gilyak, and, on the other hand, with the villages on the Amur beyond the mountains. Along the coast of the Sea of Okhotsk, Kulj or Kolj is the principal village, about whose existence Middendorff received information even at Tugur Bay (1), and, according to the descriptions of the Gilyak, seems to play a role there similar to Wair's on the Amur River. /365/ Along the Liman coast of Sakhalin the same significance belongs to the above-mentioned Tamla-wo, of bad repute because of the predatory tendencies of its, as the name indicates, large population. The part of the west coast of Sakhalin that is washed by the northern part of the Sea of Japan has only small villages almost entirely, in that the village of Tyk with its six earth yurts is the only larger place and the principal point of the entire coast. In the Tymy Valley on Sakhalin, which has a great number of small villages in its upper part in particular, Pud-wo and Udmk-wo are the principal points, and, finally, on the east coast of Sakhalin Tschai-wo and Nyi are the principal places.

342 592 161 Now, if one wants to draw any conclusions about the size of the Gilyak population in its individual areas, as well as in general, from the number of winter dwellings, it must first be determined how many permanent residents on the average may be reckoned for a Chinese or an earth yurt. Just as the

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● [113] [103] 1. In Middendorff's handwritten notes on his visit among the Gilyak the place is called "Kwol," and in Baer's report on his journey (Beitr. zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reiches, Vol. IX, Part 2, p. 620) "Kwel."

/390 cont./

000 possession. I believe that the reason that a lynx skin, and all
291 the more a coat made of six skins of this kind, has so high a
435 conventional value must be sought in the influence of Chinese
439 conceptions. In any case the lynx skin also has considerable real
237 worth for the Gilyak, since in trade with the Chinese it is regarded
as the equivalent of two otter skins or 10 sable skins (1), but there are even more expensive furs, such as black fox, for example, which in trade is equal to 15 to 20 sables, and yet it is not used by the Gilyak like lynx skins for fur coats of imaginary value. As a table to be presented below on the values given by the Gilyak to various objects will show, there are also a number of things in the household which they value even more than a lynx coat and which nevertheless do not impart to their possessor such an aura of wealth and distinction as the latter does. Conceptions
825 of another kind must therefore come into play here. In view of the
171 active, centuries old trade relations of the Gilyak with the Chinese,
[439] they could not fail to know in what high honor the skin of the tiger,
as the mightiest, most ferocious, and most dangerous of all animals, as well as that of its related species, the panther, stands in China, up to the throne: for example, the seats of high Chinese officials, governors, mandarins, generals, etc. are draped with tiger and panther skins for solemn occasions or processions, and the chair cushions carried behind them have just such fur coverings (2); the hunting tents of the emperor are

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1. Merely two leg-pieces from a lynx skin and the tail are worth as much as two sables.

[113] 2. Ysbrants Ides, *Driejaarige Reize naar China* /A Three-year Trip to China/, Amsterdam, 1704, p. 96. Du Halde, *Description de l'Emp. de la Chine et de la Tartarie Chinoise*, Paris, 1735, Vol. IV, p. 29.

/390 cont./

825 171 covered with tiger skins on the outside (3); long tiger and panther tails hang down from the halberds and lances of the officers forming the bodyguard of the emperor and /391/ walking in his retinue during public processions (1), etc. (2). Under Chinese

3. Marco Polo (*Reisen*, German by Aug. Bürck, with annotations and emendations by Fr. Neumann, Leipzig, 1845, pp. 318-319) relates that the pavilion borne by four elephants in which the Chinese emperor (Kublai Khan) stayed when hunting in the province of Liao-tong, as well as the hunting tents erected for him there, were covered on the outside with tiger, or, as he says, "lion," skins.

1. Ysbrants Ides, *op. cit.*, p. 90. Gerbillon, in Du Halde, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, p. 235.

825 171 •113 2. Many more examples of the high esteem for the tiger and its skin in China could be given. I shall content myself, however, with referring here only to some of the older testimony of this kind. On account of its predatory nature, evoking fear and terror, its likeness is put on the garments of officers and and other persons in military service in China, as Barrow (*Reise durch China im Gefolge der Grossbritann. Gesandtschaft in den Jahren 1793 und 1794* /Journey Through China in the Suite of the Embassy of Great Britain in the Years 1793 and 1794, translated from the English by Hüttner, Vienna, 1805, Vol. II, p. 31), Staunton (*Des Grafen Macartney Gesandtschaftsreise nach China in den J.*

/391 cont./

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2. (cont.)
1792-1794, nebst Nachr. über China und einen kleinen Theil der chines. Tartarey /Ambassadorial Voyage of the Earl of Macartney to China in the Years 1792-1794, with Reports on China and a Small Part of Chinese Tartary/, translated from the English, Frankf. and Leipzig, 1798, Vol. I, p. 341), and others have reported. Ellis (Journal of the Proceed. of the late Embassy to China, etc., second edit., London, 1818, Vol. I, p. 130) also saw several companies of soldiers who were wrapped from head to foot in long, yellow and black striped garments which were supposed to make them look like tigers to terrify the enemy. On the other hand, the tiger also seems to be the object of religious veneration in China. For example, Van-Braam (Voyage de l'ambassade de la Compagnie des Indes orientales Hollandaises vers l'Empereur de la Chine en 1794 et 1795, publ. by Moreau de St. Mery, Paris, year VI (1798), Vol. I, p. 270) reports that four stuffed tigers in a sitting position were set before the altar in the pagoda Huinon-tsu in Peking. In a similar manner, the Chinese (Man-dse) in the Ussuri region erect chapels for the tiger, in which they offer sacrifices to it and hang pictures of it (Arkhim. Palladii, "Usur. Man'tszy /The Ussuri Man-dse/," Izviest. Geogr. Obshch., Vol. VII, 1871, Sec. II, p. 376). I shall come back on another occasion to the value that the Chinese in their superstitious beliefs attach to the meat, gall, tendons, bones, and claws, besides the skin of the tiger.

/391 cont./
825 influence similar use of the tiger skin as a mark of honor has be-
171 come established in Korea (3). The trading trips of the Gilyak

[113] 3. Thus, Przewalski (Putesh. v" Ussuriisk. kraie, 1867-1869 g. /Travels in the Ussuri Region in 1867-1869/, St. Petersburg, 1870, p. 116) reports that during his visit to the Korean border town of Kygenpu on the Tumen-ula the governor appeared, carried on a chair over which a tiger skin was spread. After he had descended, it was spread on the ground and the traveler was invited to sit on it.

825 The trading trips of the Gilyak
to Ssan-ssin on the Sungari gave them an opportunity to witness
439 the extraordinary fear which the Chinese there (Man-dse), as
171 well as the Goldi, have of the tiger and, prompted by this fear, the respect that they show for it everywhere, in that the former erect small chapels or temples for it and put up in them pictures of it (4), which the latter call it "ambanj," i.e., "master," and

4. Arkhimandr. Palladii, "Usuriiskie Man'tszy" (op. cit., p. 377). Barabash", "Sungar. Eksped. 1872 g." (Voennyi Sborn., 1874, No. 2, p. 347).

even bow to the ground before its remains (5). The impressions

[113] 5. Pargachevskii, "Poiezdka zimn. putem" vverkh" po Amuru, sovers. v" 1856-57 gg. /Journey by the Winter Route up the Amur, completed between 1856 and 1857/" (Viestn. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Pt. XXI, 1858, Sec. on Res. and Mat., p. 171). Palladij, loc. cit.

439/392 cont./
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2. (cont.)
that the natives of the Ussuri region (Goldi and Orochi or Ta-dse) always answered his questions about the character and way of life of the lynx: "igajan Lau-masa," which means, "like the tiger."

prized and dearly paid for by the Chinese (3). I am referring

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3. Radde (Reisen im Süden von Ost. Sibirien in den J. 1855-1859 /Journeys in the Southern Part of Eastern Siberia in the Years 1855-1859/, Vol. I, "Die Säugethier-Fauna /The Mammalian Fauna/," St. Petersburg, 1862, p. 93) was unable to buy a lynx skin among the Manchu and Daur, even for silver coins, and heard the latter say that it, like a tiger skin, could be acquired only by high Chinese officials. Gerbillon (in Du Halde, Descr. de l'Emp. de la Chine, Vol. IV, p. 295) reported that the animal schulon (French "choulon"), a specimen of which Emperor Kang-hi killed during a hunt in 1692 and which he regarded as a lynx ("loup cervier"), which seems in fact to be wholly correct according to the description, provided one of the most highly prized pelts, which cost 15-20 ducats each in Peking. Elsewhere in Du Halde (op. cit., p. 29) this animal is called "chelason."

825 to the lynx. Therefore, the Gilyak transfer to it some of their conceptions about the tiger as a particularly noble, princely, or royal beast.

/395 cont./

291 824 ula (2), and which is regarded in popular tradition, along with ginseng and the sable, as one of the three treasures of Ninguta (3).

291 824 I am unable to state whether the Gilyak use the same type or any specific type of grass for the purpose mentioned, but this much seems to me to be beyond doubt, that they do not act in this without making some sort of selection, for when, in the winter of 1855, I asked the owner of the yurt of Poghobi on Sakhalin to give me some of this grass, he refused my request with the remark that he himself had very little of it.

293 412 [291] Finally, an important piece of Gilyak clothing is the belt, in particular as a holder for some of the implements always accompanying the Gilyak. First and foremost among them is a large knife, the so-called ngawla-dshakko, which is used both in eating and, if necessary, as a defensive or offensive weapon. Like almost all of the iron implements, it is always [531] of Gilyak workmanship and usually simple, with a large blade and a short, wooden handle diagonally striped as a rule (Pl. XXXI,[2] Fig. 1) (4), or sometimes wholly of iron with inlaid silver

171 175 •[113] 2. According to Maximowicz /Maksimovich/ ("Primitiae florae amurensis," in Mém. prés. à l'Acad. des sc. de St. Pétersb., Vol. IX, 1859, p. 500), probably a Cyperaceae. According to R. Brown, the Eskimo of northwestern America and Greenland use Hierochloë alpina and similar types of grass for this purpose.

[113] 3. U-tschen, in the translation by Wassiljef /Vasil'ev/: "Zapiski o Ningutie /Notes on Ningutie/" (Zap. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Pt. XII, 1857, p. 95). The translator adds in a note that boots whose soles are stuffed with this type of grass are also sold in Peking.

[104] 4. The caption concerned, "ngawta-dshakko," should be corrected to ngawla-dshakko.

[2] [See Category 116, p. 1011 -- Analyst]

/396 cont./

291 237 which runs around the neck and throat and from which two long tips, with beads sewed on them, hang down from the shoulders over the breast.

291 177 531 /397/ The winter headgear of the Gilyak women is peculiar and manifold in nature. The everyday cap, in which one sees them even at their domestic chores, when they fetch supplies from the storehouses, carry water from the river or firewood into the yurt, care for the dogs, etc., is the so-called tulv-hak, i.e., simply "winter cap" (Pl. XXI, Fig. 2).[1] It has a peculiar shape, with the high crown, usually provided with a cord clasp, and the extensions running down at the back and sides for the protection of the neck and ears, not unlike a helmet, a similarity to which the concentric or scalloped quilting on the outside, corresponding to the shape, to some extent contributes. This latter consists of single Chinese material, usually black or dark-blue cloth. [237] On the inside the cap is lined with fox fur and trimmed on the edge with otter skin. 292 177 531 The tscharp-hak, i.e., "silk cap" (Pl. XXI, Fig. 3), used on longer trips and on festive occasions, is more elegant. It is similar in shape to the fur cap of the men, but with a somewhat higher crown and extending down farther over the ears and the neck. Corresponding to the designation, it is made out of Chinese silk, on which gay-colored dragons and other figures, worked in here and there with gold thread, are represented (1). [237] On the inside this cap is likewise lined with fox

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[171] ● [113] 1. It is well known that the dragon design on fabrics, furniture, and other articles is very popular among the Chinese, but only the emperor is said to be entitled to have five-clawed dragons on his clothing and utensils, whereas all other persons, from imperial princes and mandarins down, must content themselves with four-clawed dragons (Van-Braam, Voyage de l'Ambass. de la Comp. des vers l'Emper. de la Chine

[1] [See category 116, P. 1001--Analyst]

/397 cont./

292 1. (cont.)
177 en 1794 et 1795, publ. by Moreau de St.
531 Méry, Paris, year VI, Vol. II, p. 237 [editor's
[171] note]. Girard, France et Chine, vie publ. et
[113] privée des Chinois anc. et modernes, Paris, 1869,
Vol. I, p. 59). The dragons on the above-illustrated tscharp-hak belonging to a Gilyak woman from the village of Allof was of the latter type.

292 fur, which in a broad strip also goes around the front edge of the
531 cap, trimmed at the bottom and in back with otter fur. The
177 tscharp-hak, however, is still not the peak of elegance among the
237 Gilyak women. The most elegant and distinguished piece of their entire winter wardrobe is the lynx cap (tschlyghi-hak, Pl. XXI, Fig. 4). It is made out of the head and tail pieces of a lynx skin. The former, with the upright, tufted ears of the animal, forms the crown of the cap. The shells of the ears are lined with red Chinese silk and on the edges are provided with small bunches or tufts of blue silk threads or of black sheep's wool (2). A row

2. The Gilyak designated the material of the black tufts to me as such, which, since the Gilyak themselves have no sheep, must likewise be of Chinese origin.

of such tufts also runs along the center of the headpiece, from the forehead to the tip of the snout. The fur of the lynx head is trimmed all around with a wide band of sable fur, which ends in an elongated tip at the bottom on either side to protect the ears. In the rear the lynx tail hangs down from the trimming to
[301] the back, like a braid, and at its tip it is provided with a small ring or one of the pierced brass disks with which the women
292 customarily adorn the edging of their robes. Through such use
237 of the lynx-head /398/ fur and of the tail the tschlyghi-hak

/398 cont./

292 is given the character of an imitation of the whole animal. The
237 inner lining of the lynx cap again consists of fox fur. Although with respect to elegance and distinction the lynx cap of the women is, so to speak, a counterpart of the lynx coat of the men, it is not just stored away, but is actually worn, thanks to feminine vanity and love of finery. On the occasion of a bear festival in Tebach I saw them on two women, and the above illustration
[554) was made from one of these specimens (1). The lynx cap,

[126) 1. And, to be sure, like the other two women's caps on the same plate, by my colleague, Maximowicz, during our stay of several days in this village.

however, always marks the wife of a rich Gilyak, who either already has a lynx coat or has a good chance of getting one.

171 A similar use of the head fur of an especially esteemed
291 animal as headgear and to a certain degree also the imitation
237 of the whole animal may occur among many primitive peoples.
825 I cannot refrain from pointing out a few instances of this kind among other Paleo-Asiatic peoples. The nomadic Koryak on Penshinsker /Penzhina/ Bay, for instance, for whom the wolf is the most dangerous enemy of their reindeer herds, in winter wear caps of wolf fur, on which the ears of this animal stand in an erect position (2). According to Sagoskin, something similar

●[113) 2. G. Kennan, Tent Life in Siberia and adventures among the Koraks and other tribes in Kamtschatka and Northern Asia, London, 1871, p. 117.

also takes place among many Eskimo tribes of northwestern America. The men of the Kan-julit people, from the northernmost Maleig-müt down to the Ugaschenzen, wear caps made out of the head-skin of the wolf and, in back on the belt, the tail of a wolf or wolverine, to which the tip of the snout of this latter animal is attached. The wives of the Kuskokwim Eskimo

/398 cont./

171 let a wolf or wolverine tail hang down at the neck from their
291 elegant reindeer-fur caps, trimmed with otter or wolverine skin,
237 to their backs (3). One would not err, I believe, if he assumed
825 that such articles of clothing based on the imitation of animals are of ancient national origins among those people for whom they are customary and in whose lives the animals in question are of special importance, bringing harm or advantages. It certainly seemed obvious to primitive man to pursue and carry out in detail the similarity with a given animal that he acquired by clothing himself in its fur. Here and there superstitious beliefs of the kind, say, that by imitating an animal in one's clothing, he might gain its good will or render it harmless, might also have given rise to garments copying animals. It is, therefore, not surprising that the idea of special elegance and high distinction becomes attached to such ancient national garments. This also explains why the tschlyghi-hak of the Gilyak /399/ women, though made out of purely native materials, is regarded as more elegant than the tscharp-hak made out of expensive Chinese silk with dragon designs.

291 I cannot leave this subject without permitting myself yet another pertinent and general remark. Since the customary practice among all primitive peoples clothing themselves in animal skins is to wear the skin with the hair on the outside, might not the thought of using the skin for protection against the inclemencies of the climate in the same way as it is given to the animal as natural clothing have arisen out of the imitation of animals, until experience taught that this is in fact the way of using animal skins for clothing that gives the most protection? Without any other covering as nearly air- and water-tight as possible, which primitive people were not familiar with, animal

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(113) 3. Lagoskin", Peshekhodnaia opis' chasti russk. vladienii v" Amerikie /Description of a Journey on Foot through Part of the Russian Possessions in America/, St. Petersburg, 1847 and 1848, Pt. II, pp. 21, 22.

/402 cont./
294 beveled at one end and, needless to say, is provided with some
412 decoration on the upper side and on the handle, as well as at the
531 tip (Pl. XXIX, Fig. 3).[1]

/403/ At first glance it seems very surprising that the Gilyak,
286 who are so skilled in all kinds of handicrafts and achievements
283 and despite the fact that they know how to make thread out of
171 the fibers of a native plant and to make string and fishing nets out of it, do not know how to use this material to make a fabric for clothing, in other words, that the art of weaving seems to be so completely unknown to them. This is all the more strange as their nearest Paleo-Asiatic neighbors, the Ainu on Jesso /Yesso/, Sakhalin, and the Kuriles, are dressed in materials that in part they weave themselves out of the fibers of the nettle and the bast of trees (1), and one comes across this art, and, to be sure,

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●(113) 1. Müller, Samml. Russ. Gesch. /Collection on Russian History/, Vol. III, pp. 86, 87, 91. La Pérouse, Voyage aut. du monde /Voyage around the World/, Vol. III, p. 39. Broughton, A Voyage of discov. to the North Pacific Ocean, pp. 88, 105. Krusenstern, Reise um die Welt /Voyage around the World/, Vol. II, p. 76. Mamia Rinsô, "Tô-tats ki ko" (Siebold, Nippon, VII, pp. 182, 188, 199, 200). Siebold, Aardr.-en volkenkund. toelicht., 1858, p. 111, note 1. Fr. Schmidt, "Reisen im Amur-Lande und auf der Insel Sachalin" /Journeys in the Amur Region and on the Island of Sakhalin/ (Mém. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc. de St. Pétersb., VIIth series, Vol. XII, No. 2, 1868, pp. 99, 210 ff.). Dobrotvorskii, "Iuzhnaia chast' ostr. Sakhalina /The Southern Part of the Island of Sakhalin/" (Izviestiia Sibirsk. Otd. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Vol. I, 1870, Nos. 2 and 3, p. 27). Polonskii, "Kurily /The Kuriles/" (Zap. Imp. Russk.

[1] [See category 116, p. 1009--Analyst]

/*403 cont.*/

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1. (cont.) *Geogr. Obshch., po Otd. Etnogr.*, Vol. IV, 1871, pp. 379, 390, 392, 500). N. Busse, *Ostr. Sakhalin" i Eksped. 1853 i 54 gg.* /Sakhalin Island and the Expedition of 1853 and 1854/, St. Petersburg, 1872, p. 70). Mitsul', *Ocherk" ostr. Sakhalina* /Sketch of Sakhalin Island/, St. Petersburg, 1[illegible], pp. 31, 132. Recently Dr. Ssuprunenko has given our museum several articles of clothing woven out of elm bast by the Ainu of Sakhalin.

likewise with the utilization of nettle fibers, among many Siberian peoples, such as the Ostyak, Kirgiz, Bashkir, Vogul on the Ural, and others, as an anciently familiar one (2).

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2. Witsen, *Noord en Oost-Tartarye*, second printing, 1705, pp. 630, 632. J. B. Müller, *Leben und Gewohnheiten der Ostjaken* /Life and Customs of the Ostyak/, Berlin, 1720, p. 30. Castren, *Reiseber. und Briefe aus den J. 1845-49* /Travel Account and Letters from the Years 1845-49/, St. Petersb., 1856, p. 55. Beliaevskii, *Poiezdka k" Ledovit. moriu* /Journey to the Arctic Ocean/, Moscow, 1833, pp. 73, 77. Abramov", Opis. Berezovsk. kraia /Description of the Berezov Krai/" (*Zap. Russk. Geogr. Obshch.*, Pt. XII, 1857, p. 406). Archimandrite Platon, "Sur les Vogouls" (Klaproth, *Magasin Asiat.*, Paris, Vol. I, 1824, p. 251).

000 Moreover, in China, from where so much cultural influence reached the Gilyak and other Amur peoples, one type of nettle (*Urtica nivea*) is even cultivated in fields for use in weaving (3).

3. Barrow, *Reise durch China im Gefolge*

/418 cont./

000 however, is not done by the men, but by the women. As I my-
301 171 411 self have seen among the Gilyak and as is reported from other
Amur peoples (Olcha, Manegir, Orochon) (2), the thumb ring
is used to draw the bow, to grasp the string better, and, in case
of a strong pull on it, to protect the skin of the finger from
[554] injury as a result of severe abrasion (3). Aside from this practical
purpose, however, the thumb ring is also a special ornament,
since it is regarded as a sign of manliness and is associated with
skill with the bow and arrow. No halfway adult Gilyak therefore
lacks the aam, and it is the same among the other peoples.
[177] Indeed, even where the bow has in large part already been pushed
out by firearms, Chinese matchlock guns, or Russian-Yakut
rifles, as among the Manegir and Orochon, the thumb ring is still
[579] generally worn (4). Here, then, apart from its use in an occasional
301 171 fist-fight, it is gradually becoming a mere ornament. And this

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[113] 2. Maak", Putesh. na Amur", pp. 75, 207. Gerstfel'd", "O pribrezhn. zhit. Amura" (Viestn. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Part 20, 1857, Sec. on Res. and Mat., p. 296).

[113] 3. According to Anutschin /Anuchin/ (Luk" i striely, Arkheologo-etnograf. ocherk" /Bow and Arrows, an Archeological-ethnographic Essay/, Moscow, 1887, p. 35), this is the bow pull especially characteristic for the peoples of the Mongolian race, and, according to Morse, in his work, "Ancient and modern Methods of Arrow-Release" (Bullet. of the Essex Instit.), the so-called "Mongolian" method of drawing the bow.

4. Gerstfeldt, loc. cit., and Maack, loc. cit.

/418 cont./
301 is even more the case in China, where one sometimes sees it
171 made with beautiful workmanship out of ivory, jasper, agate,
etc. on the hands of high officials and mandarins (5). Undoubtedly

• [113] 5. Davis, *La Chine*, trans. from the English by Pichard, Paris, 1837, Vol. I, p. 222. According to Neuhof (*Die Gesandtschaft der Ost-Indisch. -Gesellsch. in den verein. Niederländern an den Tartar. Cham und nunmehr auch Sinischen Kaiser*, Amsterdam, 1666, p. 64), the viceroy of Canton, at the time the Dutch embassy was there (1655), wore a thumb ring made of ivory. Fleming (*Travels on horseback in Mantchu Tartary*, London, 1863, pp. 303, 317) saw thumb rings of greenish-white jasper on two mandarins, one of whom belonged to the military forces in the city of Shanhai-Kuan on the seacoast close to the Great Wall. Freiherr von Hübner (*Ein Spaziergang um die Welt* /A Walk around the World/, second edition, Leipzig, 1875, Vol. III, p. 96) remarks that highly placed men in China always wear a large ring of white or green jade on the thumb.

/419/ the explanation for such regard and high esteem for the thumb ring may be found in its original purpose discussed above.

302 In concluding this section I must still raise the question
304 as to whether and to what extent the custom of coloring, painting
or tattooing, certain parts of the body is found among the peoples of the Amur region?

/426 cont./
*262 of these and on occasion many other fish is so inferior both quali-
252 tatively and especially quantitatively to that obtained from the
825 two first-named kinds of salmon that it is not very important
next to that one, and therefore by "ma" the Gilyak simply refer
as a rule only to the former one and differentiate it, according
to the kind of fish from which it comes, as lyghi-ma and tengi-ma,
*262 always giving preference to the former over the latter. Ma, then,
is the chief food of the Gilyak, their bread, so to speak (3) --
the basis /427/ of their households and the red thread running
574 through their entire dietary system. When a newly arrived Gilyak
264 enters a yurt and has taken a seat on one of the sleeping benches,
*262 a small tray (Gilyak chach-tschitsch, Pl. XXXIV, Fig. 4),[1] with
412 several strips of ma and a bowl of fish oil (Gilyak tom), as well as
a small wooden spoon (Pl. XXXIV, Fig. 7), is immediately given
to him by one of the women. With the small tray on his lap, he
cuts up the jukola on it with his belt-knife and eats it in such a
way that he first dips each piece into the oil, or alternatively
spoons up the latter, or he dips the end of the strip of jukola in
the oil, seizes it with his teeth and cuts the bite off from below
upward, immediately in front of the mouth, with his knife close
to the lips and passing by the tip of the nose, as has been observed
000 among so many other primitive peoples (1). When a Gilyak

●[113] 3. Steller (Beschr. von dem Lande Kamtschatka /Description of the Country of Kamchatka/, p. 157) designated the jukola, and likewise chiefly the one obtained from Salmo lagocephalus, as the "true Kamchadal bread."

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113 1. Thus, for example, among the Eskimo (Cranz, Hist. von Grönland /History of Greenland/, Vol. I, 192; Parry, Sec. Voyage, etc., p. 506; Seemann, Reise um die Welt /Voyage around the World/, Vol. II, p. 66; Klutschak, Als Eskimo

[1] [See category 116, P. 1014--Analyst]

/427 cont./

264 1. (cont.)

171 unter den Eskimos /As an Eskimo among
113 the Eskimo/, p. 232), the Buryat (Radde, "Ozero Baikal" /Lake Baikal/," Viestn. Geogr. Obshch., Part 21, 1857, Sec. on Res. and Mat., p. 140; Raev", "Buriaty /The Buryat/," Viestn. Geogr. Obshch., Pt. 24, 1858, Sec. on Res. and Mat., p. 10), the Ostyak (Pallas, Reise durch versch. Prov. des Russ. Reichs /Travels through Various Provinces of the Russian Empire/, Vol. III, p. 46), the Samoyed (A. G. Schrenck, Reise nach dem Nordost. des europ. Russlands /Travels to the Northeastern Part of European Russia/, Dorpat, 1848, Vol. I, p. 311; Islavin", Samoiedy /The Samoyed/, St. Petersburg, 1847, p. 35; Abramov", "Opis. Berezovsk. kraia /Description of the Berezov Region/," Zap. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Pt. XII, 1857, p. 354; Middendorff, Reise, etc., Vol. IV, 1453), and others. The Tungusic tribes of the Amur region do the same thing. The Nertscha /Nercha/ Tungus call it "to eat from the knife" and maintain that meat so eaten is much tastier than if it is first cut in pieces (Usol-tsev", "Putesh. po dolinie rieki Nerchi /Journey along the Valley of the Nercha River/," Viestn. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., 1857, I, p. 76).

#262 When a Gilyak
484 undertakes a long trip, though he can be sure of finding a hospitable
574 reception for himself and his dogs in every village of his countrymen, he nevertheless takes along a bundle of jukola just in case bad weather should force him to spend the night under the open sky, in which case the ma, warmed or slightly roasted over the campfire, will serve him very well.

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226 the Amur scarcely ever lack fresh fish to eat. Needless to say,
*262 the above-mentioned species of salmon used for jukola by the Gilyak are also eaten fresh and even constitute their principal food when they come upstream in great numbers. In addition, however, the river also offers them an abundance of fresh food in its more or less permanent species of fish, such as sheatfish (Silurus asotus L., Gilyak mub), eelpout (Lota vulgaris Cuv., Gilyak mad[r]sch), pike (Esox lucius L., Gilyak iwys), and especially many cyprinoids, among which the pilengat (Cyprinus carpio L.) plays the principal role (1). But more important and more precious to the Gilyak than all these fish are the two species of Acipenser that occur in the Amur and sometimes reach tremendous proportions, the tukki-tscho (Acipenser schrenckii Brandt), the Amur sturgeon, and the patch-tscho (Acipenser orientalis Pall), the Amur hausen (2). On March 6/18, 1856, when, returning from

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•[113) 1. Incidentally, on the basis of the findings of Herzenstein and Warpachowski ("Notizen über die Fischfauna des Amur-Beckens /Notes on the Fish Fauna of the Amur Basin/," in Trudy S. Peterb. Obshch. Estestvoisp. po otd. Zool., Vol. XVIII, 1887), we shall name here a number of the permanent Amur fish, the larger of which are generally used for food by the Gilyak, the smaller only when necessary and if nothing else is available. Thus, the following: lering (Carassius vulgaris Nilss.) uk or uk-tscho (Barbus labeo Pall.), koll (Pseudas pius leptocephalus Pall.), kunung (Parabramis bramula Val.), mimk (Hypophtalmichthys dybowskii Herz.), wa (Culter erythropterus Basil.), mykyk (Idus waleckii Dyb.), isn-ngoch (Pseudogobia amurensis Dyb.), markram (Gasterosteus pungitius L.), and others.

[113) 2. Cf. J. Fr. Brandt, "Einige Worte über die

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2. (cont.)
europäisch-asiatischen Störarten /A Few Words about the Sturgeon Species of Europe and Asia/" (Bull. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc. de St. Pétersb., Vol. XIV, pp. 171 ff.

114 On March 6/18, 1856, when, returning from
226 Sakhalin, I reached the village of Tschcharbach at the mouth of
*262 the Amur, the Gilyak there were near the end of their fish sup-
439 plies and impatiently awaited the thawing of the river, for then the sturgeon would immediately collect in great numbers in order to ascend the river. But farther up the Amur some are caught at practically every season of the year and even throughout the winter. In 1855 and 1856 the Gilyak supplied the Nikolayev post so amply with sturgeon meat and caviar, especially from the tukki-tscho which, it seems, is more common in the lower Amur, that this was our principal and almost daily food in the winter, /429/ and, despite its initial tastiness, we became very tired of it in time. They especially liked to sell their caviar in particular,
226 since the Russians paid them a good price for it, whereas they
*262 themselves, although they likewise use it as food, do not prize it
[439] very much. The meat of sturgeon and hausen, however, which
[252] they always eat raw in the manner indicated above, is regarded among them as one of the tastiest of foods. Enormous quantities
[796] of sturgeon and hausen are consumed especially during the bear festivals, which take place in the winter. On such occasions I saw whole rows of the mighty great animals lying on the floor of the yurt decorated for the celebration, though they are not on the menu of the actual feasts at the bear festival and are only eaten in between them or on the days preceding or following the festival.
[231] Like the human beings, the dogs, too, get their share of these
[439] fish, in that a soup is cooked for them out of the discarded, less desirable pieces and especially out of the gristly skeleton with the meat clinging to it, but the gristle itself is fished out of the kettle in order to be sold, cleaned and dried, to the Chinese.

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226 Next to the Amur the Tymy River on Sakhalin is the Gilyak
locality richest in fish. It is therefore the vital artery of the en-
[132] tire Gilyak northern half of the island, and especially along its
[361] upper course, where it does not freeze even in winter, despite the
low air-temperatures dropping to below the freezing point of
mercury, small Gilyak villages lie more tightly packed than al-
most anywhere else in the Amur region. To be sure, the tastiest
[221] and largest fish of the Amur River, the above-mentioned sturgeon,
is missing in the Tymy River, but it is especially rich in salmon,
and, to be sure, not only in those above-mentioned species gen-
erally widespread in the Amur region and, as a result of their
great quantity, principally used for the preparation of jukola, which
annually in the fall, as previously mentioned, also attract the
inhabitants of more distant localities to its banks (1), but also in
various other species, such as the nem(a)lja, (Salmo coregonoides Pall.), the longr(sch) (S. callar[illegible] Pall.), njalych (probably S. sanguinolentus Pall.), loimang (a species of trout), etc. Indeed, there are even species there that are absent in the Amur River, such as choi-tscho (Salmo orientalis Pall.) and the tschawytscha of the Kamchadal, the largest and most prized salmon species of the shores of the Bering Sea and the Sea of Okhotsk (2). The

•[113] 1. During the past few years even the Japanese have come to the mouth of the Tymy to fish there when the Salmo lagocephalus come up, and, as Mizzul (Ocherk" ostr. Sakhal. /Sketch of Sakhalin Island/, 1873, p. 120) and Poljakof (Putesh. na ostr. Sakhalin" v" 1881-1882 gg. /Journey to Sakhalin Island, 1881-1882/, pp. 70-80) reported in detail, they return home with a rich booty.

2. The Nyi Gilyak, among whom I saw two large specimens of choi-tscho in

184 252 114 /430 cont./ Moreover, with regard to these and similar views, there are many local differences among the Gilyak. For instance, the Tro Gilyak did not object if the kangi fish intended for me was roasted on the spit in front of the hearth fire, while those of Arkai interpreted this as uĭtsch and permissible without harm only at a fire burning in the open air.

226 221 As on Sakhalin, the kangi fish also occurs along the continental coast of the Sea of Okhotsk, near Kulj, Tăgl, Hisska (Petrofski Simowjo), etc. According to a statement by the Gilyak, it is absent in the Liman, and therefore, in order to catch it, the Tschomi Gilyak go every year to the west coast of Sakhalin along the northern part of the Sea of Japan, where in the winter of 1856 I met some of them. Presumably, however, this statement applies only to the southern, more closed-off part of the Liman, and not to the northern part, where at the broad outlet to the Sea of Okhotsk, the situation is quite similar to that in the latter.

*262 Next to fish, seals represent the principal foodstuff of the Gilyak, a foodstuff that is offered to them by Nature more or less abundantly at all the places in their habitation area, apart from certain localities farther from the sea, such as the Tymy Valley. For besides the seacoasts, along the Sea of Okhotsk, as well as along the northern part of the Sea of Japan, and the Liman, where this food source, of course, is supplied most abundantly, various species of seals, as I have set forth at another place (1), also come

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1. See Vol. I, pp. 180 ff., of this work.

up the Amur through the entire Gilyak area and far into that of the Olcha. /431/ The Gilyak think the least of the seal meat itself as a food. Sperk is even of the opinion that they themselves do [114] [231] not even eat it, but only feed it to their dogs (1). This is indeed

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•[113] 1. Ed. Shperk", "Geografo-patolog. ocherki Vostochn. Sibiri /Geographical-pathological Sketches of Eastern Siberia/" (Mediko-

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1. (cont.)
topograf. Sborn., St. Petersburg, 1870, p. 13).

[114] [231] the main use that they make of it, but on the Liman I have seen them eat seal meat, and I also tasted it on this occasion. *262 252 Like the meat of all mammals, it is only eaten cooked, not raw, whereas the latter, as we have seen, is often and sometimes even preferably done with fish. On the other hand, the Gilyak have a general, superstitious aversion against the frying of fish or meat, a superstition I often had to fight during a stay in their yurts, for whenever a piece of meat was being fried for me, with the first sizzle of the butter or fat in the pan, the cry "uitsch, uitsch" (unlucky) could be heard from all sides and it was often difficult to [251] finish the cooking (2). As little as the Gilyak like seal meat, they nevertheless greatly relish seal fat or blubber, which they eat cut in slices, and, finally, most popular is the train oil obtained from it, which is in general use among them and is kept among their supplies in seal bladders and stomachs to be utilized, apart from its use to illuminate the yurts, sometimes in the preparation of many kinds of dishes and sometimes simply eaten with a spoon as fish oil along with jukola or enjoyed in other ways. It is by this ingredient, which becomes more general and more essential the closer one comes to the Amur-Liman and the seacoast, that the food of the Gilyak is principally distinguished from that of the other Amur peoples living farther upstream and inland.

*262 136 Besides seals, Nature offers the Gilyak another important and precious foodstuff to almost the same extent. It is the white whale, Delphinapterus leucas Pall. (Gilyak pomi-tscho), which, with the sole exception of the coast along the northern part of the

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2. Steller (op. cit., p. 323) also points out with regard to the Italmen and Koryak that they do not like frying, in contrast to the Tungus and Yakut.

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*262 [136] Sea of Japan, likewise occurs throughout the habitation area of the Gilyak and goes up the Amur River just as far as the seal (3). I *262 225 [231] learned this much about it, that though, like the latter, it, too, is used by the Gilyak as food for people and dogs (4), nevertheless it comes after the seal, because hunting it, which will be discussed later, is much more difficult and dangerous and can be done for only a shorter period in the year, only as long as the river is open, and furthermore because it is not nearly as useful as the seal, which, besides food, also yields valuable clothing materials. Nevertheless, the numerous white-whale skulls which one sees hanging on trees and branches at many places along the banks of the Amur River indicate that /432/ the white whale is not infrequently captured by the Gilyak and, in conformity with its significance, is treated in traditional, superstitious ways.

*262 171 [136] [231] The Gilyak behave quite differently toward another cetacean, the so-called keng (Balaenoptera longimana Rud.), which is occasionally stranded within the range of their dwelling sites on the coasts of the Sea of Okhotsk and the northern part of the Sea of Japan. To be sure, they acquire these animals in order to feed their dogs with the fat and meat, but they themselves do not eat any of it. In fact, their physical and moral abhorrence of it is such that keng fat or meat is not brought into the yurt, but may be kept only in the storerooms. I could not learn from them what this abhorrence was based on. It is all the more striking, however, since among all the other Paleo-Asiatic peoples whale meat and blubber are among the most popular foods. The Ainu, for instance, do not leave a stranded whale until all the meat and fat on it have

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3. See Vol. I, p. 191, of the present work.

●[113] 4. According to Steller (Beschr. von dem Lande Kamtschatka, p. 106), the fat of the white whale is not at all like train oil and the meat, too, has quite a good taste.

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*262 171 been consumed (1). Steller (2) and Krascheninnikof (3) describe
in detail the tremendous importance that the whale has in the diet
and the entire economy of the Kuriles, Kamchadal, sedentary
Koryak, and Chukchee. It is the same among the Aleut (4) and
among the Eskimo in different parts of their broad area of distribu-
[165] tion (5). Experience has taught these peoples to distinguish between
the species of whale suitable for food and the harmful or "poison-
ous" ones and not to use dead animals cast up by the ocean until

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[113] 1. According to a written communication from Rudanofskij. Cf. also Dobrotworskij /Dobrotvorskii/, Ainsko-russk. slovar' /Ainu-Russian Dictionary/, supplement to Uchen. Zap. Kaz. Univers., 1875, p. 37.

2. Op. cit., pp. 98-105.

[113] 3. "Opis. Kamchatki /A Description of *Kamchatka/*" (Poln. sobr. uchen. putesh. po Rossii, Vol. 1, pp. 420 ff.).

[113] 4. Veniaminov", Zap. ob" ostr. Unalashkinsk. otdiela /Notes on the Islands of the Unalaska Sector/, St. Petersburg, 1840, Pt. I, pp. 81, 82.

[113] 5. For instance, at the two ends of their territory, on Kadjak /Kodiak/ in the east (Davydov", Dvukratnoe putesh. v" Ameriku morsk. ofitserov" Khvostova i Dav. /The Repeated Journey to America of the Two Naval Officers Khvostov and Davydov/, St. Petersburg, 1812, Pt. II, p. 72) and on Greenland in the west (Cranz, Hist. von Grönland, Vol. I, p. 189).

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*262 they have convinced themselves of their harmlessness (6). For
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●[113] 6. And, to be sure, by first watching to see whether birds and beasts of prey eat any meat from it, etc. (Dawydof, op. cit., p. 200. Golovnin", "Zamiechaniia o Kamchatkie i Russkoi Amerikie v" 1809-1811 gg. /Observations on Kamchatka and Russian America, 1809-1811/." -- Mater. dlia istorii russk. zasel. po bereg. Vost. Okeana /Material for a History of the Russian Settlers on the Shore of the Eastern Ocean/, Issue 2, supplement to Morsk. Sborn., No. 2, 1861, p. 105).

often a hasty consumption of the meat or blubber of such animals is said to have brought about devastating sickness among the people concerned and to have resulted in the dying out of whole villages (7). Such cases may very likely have occurred among the

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[411] 7. Krascheninnikof (op. cit., p. 529) witnessed such deaths in Alaun on the east coast of Kamchatka and sought the cause in the fact that many whales are killed by means of poisoned arrows.

Gilyak and their adjacent neighbors along the coast (8) and,

[164] 8. For instance, in Vladivostok a newspaper of the same name reported several cases of severe epizootic diseases on Sakhalin, and among them one in 1882 in the Murawjof post, which came about as the result of using the fat of cast-up whales (S. Peterb. Viedom., 1883, No. 272).

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*262 preserved in memory by tradition, may have given rise to the fear
171 and abhorrence of the enjoyment, indeed even of the presence,
[165] of whale meat and blubber in their yurts. Moreover, the Gilyak
do not stand alone in this abhorrence, for the Koreans (9), /433/
for example, and the Koljuschen /Kolosh/ (1), with the sole
exception of those from Yakutat, likewise eat no whale meat and
no whale blubber or oil.

224 Since the Gilyak are not a hunting people and only pursue
*262 fur-bearing animals as an occupation in order to trade the pelts,
the land mammals provide only a small part of their food in comparison with fish and seals. Yet whenever one of them occasionally
falls into their hands, not excepting even beasts of prey, such as
*262 the fox, wolf, wolverine, etc., it is eaten. Only one animal is
[136] steadfastly detested by them, although it could be taken close at
hand and without much trouble: it is the rat (*Mus decumanus* Pall.,
Gilyak *njagrsch*), which is present in such extraordinary numbers in
their yurts. This is all the more surprising because, without doubt,
[171] the rat in the Amur region is a gift from China (2) and, as is well
known, is not at all scorned as food by the Chinese, who otherwise
are so authoritative for the Amur peoples (3). Could it be that the

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●[113] 9. Witsen, *Noord en Oost Tartarye* /North and East Tartary/, 1705, p. 47.

[113] 1. Langsdorff, *Bemerk. auf einer Reise um die Welt* /Notes on a Trip around the World/, Vol. II, p. 112. Weniaminof, *op. cit.*, Pt. III, pp. 60, 99.

2. See Vol. I, p. 128, of this work.

[113] 3. Davis, *La Chine*, etc., translated from

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3. (cont.)
the English by Pichard, Paris, 1837, Vol. I, p. 312. John Bowring, "Die Chinesen, ihre Sitten und Gebräuche /The Chinese, Their Usages and Customs/" (Petermann's Geogr. Mittheil., 1855, p. 319). Girard, France et Chine, vie publ. et privée des Chinois anc. et mod., Paris, 1869, Vol. II, p. 32. Others, like the English missionary Milne (Petermann's Geogr. Mittheil., 1857, p. 436) and Poussielgue (Voyage en Chine et en Mongolie de Mr. et de Mme. de Bourboulon, Paris, 1866, p. 272), deny the use of rats for food among the Chinese.

*262 Gilyak were taught better by experience, perhaps as a result of painful or even fatal cases of trichinosis? Among all the land mammals there are only two that are of special significance as food for the Gilyak, and, to be sure, both on account of their general and frequent use and the great importance that they place upon them. These are the bear and the dog.

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Bear meat and bear fat are the greatest delicacies that there are for a Gilyak. For the purpose of eating it, the bear is taken from its lair and kept in captivity for a long time and fed. But, according to Gilyak custom, it may not be eaten except at certain times and with the observance of a number of ceremonies and practices that are undertaken in large ad hoc festive gatherings. I have had an opportunity, as an eyewitness, to become acquainted with these bear festivals, which play a most important role in the life of the Gilyak, in all their individual acts from beginning to end, and therefore I am obliged to discuss them in a special, later section of this work. Besides that, however, they gave me considerable insight into the food and cooking of the Gilyak in general, for to entertain the large festive company assembled many dishes must be prepared in a way to suit the palates of the Gilyak. And so most of what is presented below concerning their culinary achievments was observed by me on such occasions.

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231 The use of the dog for food on the part of the Gilyak is of a wholly different significance, not so much social as practical. Understandably they must try to get the greatest possible use from their sole domestic animal, which, moreover, they are obliged to keep in large numbers as draft animals. This is attained [237] inasmuch as even in case it becomes useless for transportation, because of debility or injury, they utilize it by using its skin for clothing and its meat for food. As a result of this triple usefulness, the dog has the same significance for the Gilyak as the reindeer has for the Tungus and other reindeer nomads. Moreover, the Gilyak find great tastiness in dog meat, which is understandable inasmuch as it, as a consequence of the almost exclusively fish diet that the dogs have among them, must likewise taste strongly like fish, and this can be nothing but most agreeable to the Gilyak [123] [439] palate (1). For this reason the Gilyak were always willing to buy

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1. I could not bring myself to taste even the dog meat that the Gilyak ate in my presence, but I know that the meat of an animal fed on fish acquires a strong fishy taste, from my experience with a little pig which Maximowicz and I bought from the Goldi on the Ussuri and which we soon, although long deprived of meat, gave up eating for the reason mentioned. As early as Strabo [113] one finds the remark that in the land of the ichthyophagi (on the coast of present-day Baluchistan) the meat of cattle tasted like fish (Tyler /Tylor/, Forsch. über die Urgesch. der Menschheit und die Entwickel. der Civilisation /Researches into the Early History of Mankind and the Development of Civilization/, translated from the English by H. Müller, p. 269). It is known that in Kamchatka even the milk of cows, if they have been fed jukola for a time because of a shortage of hay, always gets a more or less strong fishy taste.

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231 relationship to his master as does the hunting or house dog,
*262 who, through loyalty, personal attachment, and other character-
171 istics lacking in the draft dog, makes himself the constant companion and friend of man. Accordingly, just as among the Gilyak, one also finds cynophagy among other Paleo-Asiatic peoples, for example, among the Ainu of Sakhalin (3) and of Jesso /Yesso/, the latter of which supposedly even fatten dogs for eating them later (4). The Eskimo, too, eat dogs (5), but at present in most /436/ places, especially in the north and east of their area of distribution, they may be scarcely better off than in Greenland, where, according to Rob. Brown (1), the highly prized

●[113] 3. Dobrotvorskii, Ainsko-russk. slovar' (supplement to Uchen. Zap. Imp. Kaz. Univers., 1875, p. 37). Cf. also Siebold, Nippon, VII, p. 204.

[113] 4. According to Adam Laxmann; see Polonskii, "Kurily /The Kuriles/" (Zap. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Otd. Etnogr., Vol. IV, 1871, p. 501).

[113] 5. Alois v. Becker, "Arkt. Reise der engl. Yacht 'Pandora' im J. 1876, unter dem Commando des Capit. Sir Allen Young /Arctic Voyage of the English Yacht 'Pandora' in 1876, under the Command of Captain Sir. Allen Young/" (Ausland, 1879, p. 455).

[113] 1. "Die Säugethiere Grönlands und der Grönländ. Meere /The Mammals of Greenland and the Greenland Seas/" (Petermann's Geogr. Mittheil., 1869, p. 464).

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231 dog meat is still a rare delicacy because of its naturally very
*262 high price. The ancient Italmen on Kamchatka seem to be a
171 striking and completely unique exception to the rule, for though they had dogs to pull the sleds and had no other domestic animal besides them, nevertheless among all the animals of their country "only dogs, mice, and lizards were excluded from their menu" (2), as Steller expressly states. Or had they perhaps already given up eating dogs in Steller's time, as a result of their well-known, exceedingly eager imitation of the Russians (3), for whom it was a particular abomination? And all the more since it could not have been difficult for them in material respects in view of Kamchatka's great wealth of fish (4). On the other hand, those peoples -- as I should like to formulate the above rule further -- who keep the dog only for hunting or to guard house and grounds, but use another domestic animal, the reindeer or the horse, for traveling, riding, or burden-carrying, such as the Orok, the Siberian Reindeer-Tungus, Orochon, Manegir, etc., not only eat no dog meat, but even have a more or less marked aversion to it.
000 From this point of view it is noteworthy that the Olcha, who at

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2. Steller, op. cit., p. 323. Krascheninnikof does not mention this.

3. Steller, op. cit., p. 285 and elsewhere.

¶[113] 4. According to the observations made by the Vega Expedition, the Chukchee of Pitlekai and Jinretlen refused to eat the meat of a slain dog (Nordenskiöld, Die Umsegelung Asiens und Europas /A Voyage around Asia and Europe/, Vol. II, p. 96). Whether this is general among the Chukchee has not yet been ascertained.

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231 Asiatic peoples, the Gilyak and Ainu, and must be regarded as a
*262 custom peculiar to them since ancient times. Merely the circumstance
171 that it is absent among all the peoples living in the
114 Amur region farther upriver, towards the Ussuri and Sungari, makes
177 it certain that any possible influence from the Chinese, who, as is well known, eat everything possible, including dogs, cats, rats, and the like (1), is not remotely conceivable. On the other hand,

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1. And, to be sure, in China dog meat is eaten not merely by lower people out of lack of any other food, but generally, and even at the best and most elegant tables. Among the many older and more recent reports on this, only the following are to be referred to here: Neuhof, Die Gesandtsch. der Ost-Ind. Gesellsch. in den verein. Niederländ. an den Tart. Cham /The Embassy of the East India Company in the Territories of the Netherlands to the Khan of Tartary/, Amsterdam, 1666, p. 275. Ysbrants Ides, Driejaar. Reize naar China /Three-Year Voyage to China/, Amsterdam, 1704, p. 103. Du Halde, Descr. de l'Emp. de la Chine /Description of the Chinese Empire/, Paris, 1735, Vol. II, p. 138. Bell d'Antermony, Voyage dans div. contrées de l'Asie /Journey in Various Countries of Asia/, translated from the English by M***, Paris, 1746, p. 343. Staunton, Des Graf. Macartney Gesandtsch. nach China /Diplomatic Mission of the Earl of Macartney to China/, translated from the English, Frankf. and Leipzig, 1798, Vol. II, p. 173. Davis, La Chine, etc., Vol. I, p. 312; Vol. II, p. 236. Iakinf", Kitai i pr. /China, etc./, St. Petersburg, 1840, pp. 262, 369, 377. Itier, Journ.

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1. (cont.)
d'un Voyage en Chine /Journal of a Voyage to China/, Paris, 1848, Vol. I, p. 302; Vol. II, p. 50. Ferrière-le-Vayer, Une Ambass. Franc. en Chine /A French Ambassador in China/, Paris, 1854, p. 197. Bowring, "Die Chinesen" (Petermann's Geogr. Mittheil., 1855, p. 319). Fleming, Travels on horseback in Mantchu Tartary, London, 1863, p. 249. Girard, France et Chine, Paris, 1869, Vol. II, p. 32.

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the popular enjoyment of dog meat in Korea (2) may perhaps be traced back to Chinese influence.

2. Witsen, Noord en Oost Tartarye, 1705, p.57. O.Genest, "Capit. Jacobsen's Besuch bei den Koreanern /Captain Jacobsen's Visit among the Koreans/" (Globus, Vol. LII, p. 61).

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Birds furnish the Gilyak much less food than do mammals, merely for the reason that they are not hunted very much on account of their little use otherwise and, as a rule, they are much more difficult to catch. Whatever the Gilyak do catch, however, is consumed indiscriminately, and some birds which are periodically more easily caught make a somewhat larger contribution, though always a minor one, to their diet here and there. At [136] several places, for instance, the ptarmigan (Lagopus albus Gm., Gilyak parrä, on Sakhalin tschleola-nga) is caught by them in large numbers by means of simple snares. Along the west coast [136] of Sakhalin, from Tyk to Duï, I saw them consuming with great relish the Phaleris cristatella Pall. (Gilyak nochla-nga), which easily falls prey to them in winter because they alight individually or in small flocks on the ice near open places in the sea and freeze to it. The meat of the sea eagle, which the Gilyak lift out of its nest and raise with fish in order to sell the tail to the Japanese, is consumed by them when its hour of death tolls.

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000 is consumed by them when its hour of death tolls. The Gilyak
*262 seem not to eat on principle only the crow (Corvus corone L.,
825 Gilyak karr), although, or perhaps because, it lives for the most part on the same food as they themselves do, for it happily and in great numbers stays in the vicinity of their villages and huts in order to benefit from the scraps from the catch of fish or the preparation of jukola, and appears at the midday or overnight campsites of traveling Gilyak even before the fire has gone out, in order to eat any possible remains from the meal; in fact, they not infrequently steal a march on them in consuming /438/ a nochla-nga
*262 frozen fast to the sea ice or an animal caught in a trap. Perhaps
825 the Gilyak are also governed in this by some kind of superstitious
171 belief concerning this bird, like, say, the Chukchee (1) and the Eskimo (from Kotzebue Sound), who regard the carrion crow as the creator of the world (2). At any rate, I saw them sometimes carry with them on trips a crow's head on top of the sleds laden with provisions and trade articles as a means, as they themselves told me, of bringing good luck. Incidentally, ideas quite similar to those concerning the crow prevail among the above-named peoples, the Chukchee, the Eskimo from Kadjak, the Kenai, and the Koljuschen in connection with the raven, and the latter there-
000 fore do not eat it (3). In view of the great similarity between the

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●[113] 1. Kiber", "Chukchi /The Chukchee/" (Sibirsk. Viestn., 1824, Pt. II, Ethnography, p. 119).

[113] 2. Berth. Seemann, Reise um die Welt, Vol. II, pp. 30, 72.

[113] 3. Lutké, Voyage autour du monde /Voyage around the World/, Paris, 1835, Vol. I, pp. 189, 214. According to Nordenskiöld (Die Umsegelung Asiens und Europas, Vol.

*262 /438 cont./
825
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•(113)

3. (cont.)
II, p. 96), on the other hand, the Chukchee of Pitlekai and Jinretlen had no objection to eating a raven that had been shot.

*262 825 In view of the great similarity between the two birds in externals and in their way of life, it is quite possible that the Gilyak have the same attitude toward both and therefore likewise do not eat the raven.

Among the reptiles and amphibians, there is not a single animal that the Gilyak eat, for with regard to all of them, but especially snakes and toads, they have a fear rooted in superstitious beliefs, which will be discussed in the following (4).

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4. In China, frogs, turtles, and even snakes are eaten. Jakinf, op. cit., p. 262; John Bowring, loc. cit.

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*262 Finally, among the animal foods of the Gilyak a few invertebrates must be mentioned, for the coastal Gilyak do not scorn gathering and eating some of the crustaceans and mollusks tossed up by the sea or left behind by the ebb. For example, [136] on the west coast of Sakhalin they designated for me the Tellina venulosa (Gilyak kär wub) (5), Mactra sachalinensis (Gilyak

5. See Vol. II, pp. 556-558, of this work.

moghomi-wellach) (6), and a third mussel, which they called

[192]

6. Ibid., pp. 575-578. As is said at the place cited, wellach is the term for a snail shell or mussel shell in general, but the animal of the moghomi-wellach is called pubk, according to Glehn.

jotang-wellach and which remains unknown to me, as the species whose animals they eat and at the same time praised them as being "sweet as sugar."

/440 cont./
*262 (Gilyak tym-als), is eaten with relish and in great quantities, but
[137] does not replace the former two in the mossj. Other berries, too,
such as Rubus idaeus L. (Gilyak kelam), R. chamaemorus L.
(Gilyak edeni-als), etc., are occasionally eaten, but are not
important.

The fruit of the wild rose, Rosa cinnamomea L., called
[192] tityrsch and tsebi in Gilyak on the mainland, and on Sakhalin
pilj-als, i.e., "large berry" (1), provides a tasty dish for the
[251] Gilyak. The hips, gathered for storage in the fall, are, as I
[252] repeatedly saw in Tyk on the west coast of Sakhalin, put in the
kettle still frozen, heated, pounded, and stirred with seal oil to
a mush which is eaten with spoons.

*262 The excellent teeth and powerful chewing apparatus of the
252 Gilyak are characterized by the use that they make of the fruits
264 of Prunus padus L. and of the cedar or cembra nuts (Gilyak tohrs),
[142] a primary product of Sakhalin (2). I have seen them eat both by
[137] handfuls, like the softest berries, without first crushing the
252 kernels or the nuts, and removing the shells. The latter is like-
*262 wise not done when a kind of cake is made out of them. In this
[192] connection the fruits of the black alder are merely crushed and,
with the help of a little flour and train oil, shaped into a cake,

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● [113] 1. Likewise on Sakhalin the fruit of the Rosa rugosa Thbg., according to Glehn called pilja-latsch by the Gilyak there; see Schmidt, "Reisen im Amur-Lande und auf der Insel Sachalin /Travels in the Amur Region and on Sakhalin Island/" (Mém. de l'Acad. des sc. de St. Pétersb., seventh series, Vol. XII, No. 2, pp. 213, 215).

[192] 2. Among the Gilyak the corresponding trees are called tassj (Prunus padus) and chim (Pinus cembra, pumila).

/440 cont./

252 which among the Gilyak on the mainland is called kyp, on
* 262 Sakhalin kap. The kernels and shells of the cembra nuts are
[192] kneaded into a dough-like mass of a reddish-brown color, obtained from the ground bark of the black alder with the addition of seal oil, which is given the form of cakes or small loaves of bread about one span long and equally wide and decorated on the upper side with some figures.

The number of roots which the Gilyak use as food is not inconsiderable. Unfortunately, I am not in a position with regard to many of them to give the taxonomic names of the plants
[137] to which they belong (3). Most of the roots, especially those of various bulbous plants, are eaten cooked in fish or seal oil, for example, in particular the bulbs of Fritillaria kamtschatkensis Gawl. (Gilyak kark) and of Lilium spectabile Link. (Gilyak nork), which one sees strung on cords and hanging in their storage chambers; likewise the roots of Corydalis ambigua Cham. (Gilyak tschjurk), Heracleum dissectum Led. (Gilyak ryghr), and many other roots with which I am not familiar, such as tuksj, udalak, /441/ mryu, plim, a(r)sj, etc. Some bulbs, such as those
263 called ngyfki by the Gilyak, which presumably belong to a species
252 of Allium, are cut up in the fresh state and added to dishes as
137 seasonings, and likewise the chopped and dried leaves of some

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● [113] 3. The names given in the following are based on the findings that were made by Maximowicz in working up his "Primitiae florae amurensis," St. Petersburg, 1859 (Mém. prés. à l'Acad. Imp. des sc. par divers savants, Vol. IX), and Fr. Schmidt for the botanical part of his "Reisen im Amur-Lande und auf der Insel Sachalin," 1868 (Mém. de l'Acad. Imp. des Sc. de St. Pét., VIIth series, Vol. XII, No. 2, p. 212), on the basis of the material collected by him and Glehn.

/443 cont./

*262 animal food, and especially fish food, on the whole, constitutes the basis and mainstay of the existence of the Gilyak.

263 A noteworthy circumstance in connection with the diet of the Gilyak must still be considered here. It is the fact that they do not use any salt at all with their food and, indeed, even have a certain aversion to it. I am taking the liberty of repeating here what I wrote several years ago in a letter to Dr. Gustav Bunge (1), which has also been published by him (2). Despite my long stay among the Gilyak and many an observation of their food and the preparation of dishes, I never saw them add salt to any dish or eat it in any other way. I was never asked for any by them and do not know /444/ that they ever asked for it in Nikolayevsk, where it
114 was sold. The following experience gave me further evidence of
263 how little it is required by them: since toward the end of my journey in the winter of 1856 my salt was exhausted, I asked for some in every Gilyak village that I passed through on the west coast of Sakhalin and along the Amur-Liman, but always in vain, until Pronge, on the mouth of the Amur, a hazelnut-sized lump of salt wrapped in a dirty rag, which its owner had once happened to get and had kept as a worthless curiosity, was finally brought to me. The Gilyak repeatedly expressed their repugnance for it when they
[171] saw me eat salt. From the numerous similar reports on the use or non-use of salt by various peoples Dr. Bunge draws the conclusion,

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1. At that time a docent in Dorpat, now a professor in Basel.

•[113] 2. In his article "Ethnologischer Nachtrag zur Abhandlung über die Bedeutung des Kochsalzes und das Verhalten der Kalisalze im menschlichen Organismus /Ethnological Supplement to the Discussion on the Significance of Cooking Salt and the Effect of Potassium Salts on the Human Organism/" (Zeitschrift für Biologie, Vol. X, Munich, 1874, p. 115).

/444 cont./

114 certainly a wholly correct one, "that all those peoples who live
263 almost exclusively on animal food -- hunters, fishermen, nomads
171 (and the Gilyak belong among them) -- either are not familiar with salt, or, if they are familiar with it, detest it, whereas peoples nourishing themselves predominantly on vegetable foods have an irresistible desire for it and regard it as an indispensable food" -- an attitude that on the basis of his excellent explanations from the chemico-physiological point of view has been fully
263 confirmed (1). With respect to the Gilyak, however, I find myself

● [113] 1. Cf. also his Lehrbuch der physiolog. und patholog. Chemie /Textbook of Physiological and Pathological Chemistry/ Leipzig, 1887, pp. 109 ff.

induced by the above-mentioned explanations by Dr. Bunge to make a few remarks concerning the use, or rather the non-use,
263 of salt among them. The bear festivals are the only occasions
796 at which the Gilyak, as is to be seen from the above statements,
114 eat plant food, and, to be sure, cereals and legumes, in large
262 quantities. Is it therefore not surprising that at that time the Gilyak distaste for salt not only does not disappear, but, quite the contrary, is especially noticeable, for during a bear festival it is regarded as uitsch (unlucky) merely to add salt to the dishes? Yet, this does not seem to me to contradict Dr. Bunge's final conclusion and its chemico-physiological proof. For, first of all, the bear festivals take place for only a short time here or there, which does not alter the very predominantly animal character of the Gilyak diet on the whole; secondly, the amount of plant food eaten at them is considerable only in case the host is a very prosperous man who trades with Chinese, Russians, or Japanese, and otherwise, and in general, it is likely to fall behind the amount of animal food, especially bear meat and fat; thirdly, and finally, the bear festivals are an ancient national custom permeated, as we shall see, with a number of deep-rooted superstitions for the Gilyak, among whom any innovation would meet especially stubborn resistance.

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000 263 174 [796] [192] resistance. It certainly existed among them long before they became acquainted with salt, as can be seen from the fact that they do not have any independent designation for it, but only a somewhat modified foreign one. For the Gilyak designation taftsch for salt was probably /445/ borrowed from the Manchurian dabssun (Mongolian: dabassu) (1). On the basis of this etymology, I would

●[113] 1. Klaproth, Asia polyglotta, p. 298; Sprachatlas /Linguistic Atlas/ p. XXXXVI.

also presume that the Gilyak first became acquainted with salt at the time when a Manchu tribe, the Djutscheren, engaged in agriculture, livestock-breeding, and the like, lived along the lower Amur from the mouth of the Sungari to below the mouth of the Ussuri, from where they were transplanted to the Churcha in the middle of the seventeenth century upon orders from the Chinese government (2).

2. See p. 318 above.

In the two centuries since then salt has found no acceptance among the Gilyak -- certainly proof that there was no physiological need for it.

263 439 Whereas the Gilyak aversion to salt is so pronounced and general, sugar (Gilyak ssäta), on the other hand, finds great approval among them, and to be sure, in the form in which they became acquainted with it from the Russians (3). The Chinese

[192] 3. Could it not be that the Gilyak designation given for it was borrowed from the Russian ("ssachar")?

sugar already known to them earlier, brown in color and only faintly sweet in taste, had no attraction for them, and since, moreover, it is to be had only for a high price and only by way of exception from the Chinese traders along the Amur, who usually carry with them only small quantities of it for their own use,

/447 cont./

323 114 171 similar in shape to that of the Chinese and Japanese (2). /448/

323 114 171 174 One might suppose that the traveler was concerned with, not originally Gilyak, but only with imported Chinese and Japanese pottery which he saw among the Gilyak, but this would still not remove the contradiction with my above statements, because Mamia Rinso goes on to say that there were especially many porcelain factories along the Amur (Mankô) near Kidsi (1). This, however, no longer refers to the Gilyak, whose territory does not begin until somewhat below Kidsi, but even among the Olcha, to whom it must refer, and still farther upstream among the Goldi, at least as far as the Ussuri, I never saw such factories or any of their products. And Maack had the same experience, except that in the Goldi village of Ssilbi he saw some earthenware pots among the household utensils of the natives (2). This village, however, is in the vicinity of the Sungari, where, as we shall presently see, totally different conditions prevail in this respect. If, therefore, one is to believe Mamia Rinsô's reports, and, according to my experience, they fully merit it, one is forced to assume that the Olcha, and presumably also the lower Goldi, at the beginning of this century were making pottery and porcelain and sold the products even among the Gilyak as far as Sakhalin, and that the latter were likewise familiar with this industry -- an industry which had been completely lost fifty years later when I explored 323 174 171 648 the Amur region. How this happened will be illuminated as much as possible in one of the following chapters in the discussion

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● [113] 2. Mamia Rinsô, "Tôtats kiko" (Siebold, *Nippon*, VII, p. 194).

1. *Op. cit.*, p. 172.

[113] 2. Maak", *Putesh. na Amur"* /A Journey to the Amur/, p. 143.

323 /448 cont./
171 of the trade relations of the Amur peoples, and especially of the
174 Gilyak, with the neighboring civilized peoples. For the moment,
648 it will suffice to make the general remark that it most probably
was brought about by violent seizure and devastation plotted by
the Manchu-Chinese government itself for political reasons and to
which Mamia Rinso's voyage may even have given rise. Through
the devastating blow that the government, feared by the natives,
executed, among other things, against the pottery and porcelain
manufacturing of the Olcha on the Amur, they were forced back,
like their neighbors upstream and downstream, the lower Goldi
and Gilyak, to their traditional woodworking industry and were so
strongly and lastingly prejudiced against all pottery and porcelain
that from then on even articles of this sort made in China or Japan
could not find approval and acceptance among them. This
415 destruction of the pottery manufacturing in the lower Amur region,
174 on the other hand, may have prompted the Goldi to take up the
171 mass production of wooden implements, to turn those large bowls
322 and plates which are still generally used by the Gilyak and Olcha
under the designations aam-ngir and kota, respectively.

Whereas the pottery and porcelain industry was destroyed
323 along the lower Amur by the Manchu, it made rapid and unimpeded
171 progress in southern Manchuria and along the Sungari and its tribu-
[648] taries. /449/ According to the notes of the Chinese U-tschen in 1722,
the Manchu at that time did not have any earthenware, but only
wooden vessels, bowls, and plates (1). With the increasing
colonization of the country by the Chinese, however, many pottery
and porcelain factories also arose there. Near Sur-mu-tsching in
Liao-tong Williamson (2) saw many such factories and various

● [113] 1. Vasil'ev", "Zapiski o Ningutie /Notes on Ninguta/" (Zap. Imp. russk. Geogr. Obshch., Vol. XII, 1857, p. 96).

[113] 2. Journeys in North China, Manchuria and Eastern Mongolia, London, 1870. Vol. II, p. 187.

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323 171 utensils produced there, some of them of very good quality, which were shipped far away, and, according to Barabash (3), there is one or several of them in every Sungari town. The pottery that Maack saw in Ssilbi on the Amur probably also came from the Sungari. The fact that it does not go farther down the Amur, however, to the lower Goldi, Olcha, and Gilyak, in spite of their annual trade voyages to the Sungari, attests all too clearly to the aversion that they entertain against such utensils.

323 17 If, from the statements by Mamia Rinsô given above, one must draw the conclusion that the Gilyak and Olcha, though they do not use pottery in their households today, nevertheless formerly and up to the beginning of this century had it and even manufactured it themselves, it may also be gathered from them that it was by no means an art practiced since ancient times, but rather that they learned it through the Chinese and Japanese in relatively recent times. He found the pieces seen by him on Sakhalin, as was said, similar to those of the Chinese and Japanese, and it is highly probable that the many porcelain factories near Kidsi which he mentions arose under Chinese influence and with Chinese co-operation. And, since it was recent and foreign, this art could so easily again disappear altogether among the Gilyak and Olcha amidst the subsequent unfavorable conditions, without leaving any trace other than the aversion against its products. My view that the making of pottery was originally foreign to the Gilyak and was temporarily picked up by them from the Chinese only in recent times is also supported by the fact that this art, as among the Gilyak, is missing, or was missing up to a short time ago, among all the other Paleo-Asiatic peoples, with one single exception. Mamia Rinsô (4),

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[113] 3. Barabash", "Sungar. ekspeditsiia 1872 g. /The Sungari Expedition of 1872/" (*Voennyi Sborn.*, 1874, No. 2, p. 351).

4. *Op. cit.*, p. 184.

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3. (cont.)
/Imperial Academy of Sciences/ and are in our museum. Three years later, near the village of Taraika on Sakhalin and likewise at the bottom of pits which looked like the remains of earth huts, Lopatin found numerous stone tools and fragments of pottery vessels (Kropotkin, according to information from Lopatin in Izviest. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Vol. V, 1869, Sec. II, pp. 307, 308). Subsequently similar finds were made repeatedly at the southern tip of Sakhalin. Finally, in 1881, Poljakof succeeded in obtaining at the site of the Russian outpost near Duï on the west coast of Sakhalin a rich collection of stone tools and old potsherds. The latter were not infrequently marked with patterns which were reminiscent of those that he had found in the Olonez District and in the Oka Valley in European Russia (Poliakov", Putesh. na ostr. Sakhalin" v" 1881-1882 gg. /Journey to Sakhalin Island in 1881-1882/. Supplement to Vol. XIX of Izv. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., p. 19). ● [113] [113]

some of which have been available to me (4) and which were

4. The potsherds, in part from the Patchä River and in part from Naiputschi on southern Sakhalin, that were available to me were made of a coarse, reddish-yellow to blackish clay, which in places contained fine gravel, small pieces of quartz, and sometimes little pea-sized pieces of rubble. They were sometimes provided with fine impressions arranged in rows, sometimes with crisscrossed stripes or

Gi /463 cont./

114 5. (cont.)
177 Russian colonization of the island, therefore
272 only quite recently -- was by no means the
case at the time of my travels on it, or
Schmidt's and Glehn's.

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272 They did not know coffee at all and considered it, when they saw
G me drink some, "very strong tea." On the other hand, liquor
273 was, of course, generally known in the Amur region, and, to be
171 sure, to the Gilyak as well as to the other peoples of the mainland,
[192] under the name (of Malayan-Chinese origin) *araki* or *arki*, also
customary among the Manchu and among all the Tungusic,
ooo Mongolian, and Turko-Tartaric peoples of Siberia (6). Undoubtedly

6. See the glossaries for the above-named peoples in Klaproth's *Asia polyglotta*. There are, for course, many modifications of this general designation applied to grain and to milk spirits, such as *araka*, *araku*, *airaki*, etc.

G undoubtedly
273 acquaintance with liquor among the Amur peoples dates from the
171 time of their earliest contact with the Chinese and has spread
439 rapidly since then. Through the trading trips of the Goldi, Olcha,
Gi and especially the Amur-Gilyak to Sakhalin, Chinese liquor must
[439] have soon been introduced to the Gilyak there. The latter, to be
G sure, had an opportunity to become acquainted with liquor from
273 another direction, from the Japanese, from whom the Ainu obtained
177 their liquor, the so-called *ssaki*, and even learned how to make
439 a weak *ssaki* themselves (7); but the stronger and presumably cheaper

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● [113] 7. Mitsul', *Ocherk" ostr. Sakhalina*, p. 132. Dobrotvorskii, *Ainsko-russk. slovar'*, Preface, p. 38.

Chinese liquor already adopted by them left no space for the spread of the Japanese beverage among them. Mamia Rinsô (8) reported

8. "Tô-tats kiko" (Siebold, *Nippon*, VII, p. 192).

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273 preservation and augmentation of their property, which is peculiar
796 to the Gilyak to a high degree; for with the large number of
participants at such festivals the host's expensive supply of araki
159 would be gone in no time, apart from other dangers. Furthermore,
273 thanks to this characteristic of the Gilyak and the rare energy of
439 their character, there appeared at the very beginning of their re-
648 lations with the Russians a phenomenon which may hardly be
equaled in the history of the relations between primitive and civilized peoples: instead of being exploited by the Russians through liquor and losing everything, they, on the contrary, knew how to win many an advantage from the Russian sailors and Cossacks with their small supplies of Chinese liquor. Their moderation and power of resistance were also greatly aided by the fact that during the first years of the Russian occupation of the Amur region only very little liquor was imported, while the number of the Russian consumers of it grew rapidly (1). Later, however, after the end of the Crimean War, when the importation of liquor into Nikolayevsk, handled by many and in particular North American and Hamburg trading ships, /466/ greatly increased, and, simultaneously, the ancient, original ways of life and views of the Gilyak were more and more undermined and began to disappear under the impact of Russian immigration and colonization, it was also the end of their moderation and power of resistance to alcohol, and as early as the sixties one could read in the local newspapers, as well as in the reports of returning travelers and other eyewitnesses, of the ever increasing drunkenness and gluttony among the Gilyak, especially during their bear festivals and other celebrations (1).

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1. For instance, in 1855 the crews of several war vessels from Kamchatka and several detachments of Cossacks from Transbaikalia were added to the previous garrison of the lower Amur region.

1. Cf., for instance, Arth. Nordmann,

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1. (cont.)
"Ueber den Fischfang und die Jagd der am Amur wohnenden Giljaken /On the Fishing and Hunting of the Gilyak Living on the Amur/" (Bullet. de la Soc. Imp. des Natural. de Moscou, Vol. XXXIV, Part II, 1861, p. 254); also Vostochnoe Pomor'e, 1866, p. 59 and elsewhere.

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Tobacco smoking is common among all the peoples of the Amur region, and, indeed, both men and women smoke, and even the children are given the opportunity to become accustomed to it at an early age. It seems obvious to me where these peoples

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first learned about the tobacco plant and its use. As is well-known, Manchuria is the country from which China, at least the northern part, obtained the tobacco plant and the custom of smoking tobacco, and, indeed, this is said to have happened only about two and a half centuries ago when the now reigning Manchu dynasty ascended the throne (1644), upon whose orders the introduction of tobacco into China took place (2) and under whose protection the cultivation of tobacco rapidly spread throughout the country (3).

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2. Huc, L'Empire Chinois, Paris, 1854, Vol. I, pp. 222-224. Poussielgue, Voyage en Chine et en Mongolie de Mr. et de Mme. de Bourboulon, Paris, 1866, p. 198. Williamson, Journeys in North China, Manchuria and East. Mongolia, London, 1870, Vol. II, p. 66. Wassiljef ("Opisanie Man'chzhurii." -- Zap. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Book XII, 1857, pp. 52, 53) says: if one may give credence to a Chinese drama, the Chinese were not familiar with the smoking of tobacco up to the Manchu Dynasty.

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3. Under Emperor Kia-king (1796-1820)

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231 [484] [171] feed their dogs only once, only at the overnight campsite and always only dry *jukola*. The Russian dogs, therefore, are perhaps even more exclusively ichthyophagous than the Gilyak dogs. Lacking *jukola*, I once had them given elk meat, and they left it untouched. Only severe hunger makes the dogs omnivorous, and in summer along the Amur one cannot adequately protect his belongings /481/ against the starving dogs of the natives, seizing everything that is of animal nature, such as fish-skin and fur covers, boots, etc.

Like the grown animals, the whelps, too, are fed in the yurt. To be sure, on Sakhalin they are often kept inside the house the rest of the time, too, and on the sleeping benches at the very rear where they come up against the roof. The greater care of the whelps on Sakhalin may be the reason why the dogs there, and especially those of the Tymy Gilyak, are said to be the largest and finest in the whole region.

Since the actual master and owner of the dogs, as soon as he has returned from a trip, no longer pays any attention to them and their entire care and feeding are managed by the female occupants of the yurt, with the assistance of the children, they are actually as good as masterless and they do not have the usual characteristics of the dog which is kept more or less singly as the follower and companion of man, such as personal attachment, faithfulness, and vigilance, or they are not developed in them. The situation is the same, incidentally, with respect to the Russo-Siberian draft-dogs so that one may probably say in general that dogs, kept in large numbers for harnessing and treated more or less as a pack, in comparison with hunting or watchdogs, have remained on a lower level of culture, so to speak, or have again sunk to one. But a certain attachment to the place and house where they get their food may be found among them, too, so that, even unleashed, they do not readily leave it, and if, in harness, they get free from their driver as the result of an overturned sled, they go home as a rule, or to the nearest village (1). The dogs

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[113] [171] 1. According to Sujef (see Pallas, *Reise*

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1. (cont.)
durch versch. Prov. des Russ. Reichs /Journey through Various Provinces of the Russian Empire/, Vol. III, p. 44), the Ostyak on the lower Obj also keep their draft-dogs outside, but always feed them in the yurt.

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the dogs of the Russians on the Amur, bought from the Gilyak, to be sure, but, as was mentioned above, treated differently and in particular only fed outside, may fall short of the Gilyak dogs in this respect.

493 The Gilyak sled (tu) has a peculiar form and nature. In comparison with the Russo-Siberian narte, as the sled used for traveling with dogs is called by the Russians, the Gilyak sled is very light, delicately and gracefully built, and, as a result of its flexibility, no less durable. Its form and construction is always the same, even if the size varies, so that in making it it seems that a certain proportion with regard to the individual dimensions [123] and parts is always observed. I had many opportunities to become familiar with the construction and measurements of these sleds because the Gilyak used my house in Nikolayevsk as temporary quarters and even had permission to put their sleds in a corridor of it, after the dogs had been unharnessed, while they tended to their affairs in the village. An ordinary sled which I measured, illustrated on Plate XXXVI, /see p.1016/, Fig. 1, had the following /482/ principal dimensions: the length from one end to the other was 14 feet and 8 inches (Russian or English), the width 1' 4", the height in the middle (including the protective soles to be discussed forthwith) 11". Thus, the sled was precisely 11 [192] times longer than wide and 16 times longer than high. Regarded as a whole and with respect to the individual parts, its construction is the following: the narrow and thin soles /runners/ (Gilyak tusskrj, a in the illustration) are horizontal only in the middle sections, but toward the ends gradually and gently slope upward. Because of their thinness, they would wear out easily; to protect [192] them from this and at the same time to give them the proper upward curve toward the ends, they are provided on the underside.

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796 226 782 Presumably only loosely hung over the racks upon departure, they could only too easily have fallen off during the rapid and wild voyage and could have been carried into the river by the wind. Indeed, the latter may even have been the precise intention of the sacrificers, for the entire sacrificial voyage is supposed to serve to gain the favor of the river or the river spirit through the gifts mentioned, and through that to secure good luck and success in fishing and during all river travel in the coming /518/ summer and fall. My opinion concerning the zach in connection with the sacrificial voyage on the Amur was confirmed by the fact that in the fall, as soon as a new covering of ice has formed on the river, another celebration with sacrifices and zach takes place. The Gilyak then go out on the ice in front of their village: here a hole is cut in the covering of ice, and beside it a pole decorated with zach is erected. Now the above-mentioned gifts are thrown into the river by means of this hole, obviously to obtain its favor for the winter fishing and perhaps also for the traffic on the ice covering.

226 Immediately after the Amur is open, there comes up it from the sea the best and largest fish that it has to exhibit: the Amur sturgeon (Acipenser schrenckii, Gilyak tukki-tscho) and the even larger Amur hausen (Ac. orientalis, Gilyak patch-tscho). Both go far up the Amur and its major tributaries, the Ussuri, Sungari, etc., and, indeed, of the latter, the kaluga of the Russians, it was reported as early as Pallas that it also occurs in the source rivers of the Amur, in the Schilka /Shilka/ and in the Argunj /Argun/ (1). It has already been pointed out

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1. Pallas, Reise durch versch. Prov. des Russ. Reichs /Journey through Various Provinces of the Russian Empire/, Vol. III, p. 207. The same, Zoogr. Rosso-asiatica, Part III, p. 107. Georgi, who gave the first description of this fish, which was also used by Pallas, called it

/518 cont./

226 1. (cont.)
175 Ac. dauricus, as Brandt also does in turn
•113 (Bull. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc. de St. Pétersb., Vol. XIV, p. 172. Among the source rivers of the Schilka, the Onon has it especially abundantly, whereas the Ingoda, as Georgi noted (Bemerk. einer Reise im Russ. Reich im J. 1772 /Notes on a Journey in the Russian Empire in 1772/, Vol. I, p. 353), and recently Maack (Putesh. na Amur" /A Journey to the Amur/, p. 27), is too shallow and stony for it. When in other older as well as more recent reports on Dauria, chiefly Russian ones, reference is made simply to hausen (bieluga) and sturgeon (osetr") in connection with the kinds of fish occurring in its rivers, as, for instance, in Hedenström (Otryvki o Sibiri /Siberian Fragments/, 1830, p. 146), Parschin (Poiezdka v" Zabaikal'skii krai /Journey to the Transbaikalia Region/, Moscow, 1844, p. 117), Hagemeister (Statist. obozr. Sibiri /Statistical Survey of Sibiria/, St. Petersburg, 1854, Vol. I, p. 351), Kaschin ("Nieskol'ko slov" ob" Arguni /A Few Words about the Argun/." -- Zap. Sib. Otd. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Book VI, Irkutsk, 1863, p. 103), Middendorff (Reise, etc., Vol. IV, p. 1367), and others, undoubtedly the two Acipenser species named, which go from the Amur up its source rivers, are to be understood.

226 above how greatly the Gilyak prize sturgeon and hausen. The
226 situation is the same among the other Amur peoples. There is
171 eager pursuit of them everywhere, and the methods of fishing are

286 /532 cont./

283 this work and describes it as follows (1). "The thread intended for the cord is wound on as many spindles as the cord is to have strands; the spindles are set up firmly on the yurt bench, a piece of thread is led from each of them, through a ring fastened in a roof beam, and almost down to the ground, and the rest of the thread is protected against unwinding. The threads running through the ring are tied to a suspended spindle, which is kept in rotating motion until the cord is firmly twisted together sufficiently, and, as a consequence of this, the rotating spindle has been forced almost up to the ceiling. The firmly twisted piece of cord is now wound on the suspended spindle and protected against unwinding. Then new thread is released from the stationary spindles, the rest is made fast, and the work continues in the same way." The cords obtained in this manner are in no way inferior in tightness and uniformity to good types of our hemp cords.

286 [227] In view of the considerable variation in size of just the principal fish that the Gilyak catch, say, from the smaller cyprinoids or the tengi-tscho, Salmo proteus, to the colossal hausen, the nets used for catching them are also made with meshes varying greatly in size and out of cord of various thicknesses. And, correspondingly, the instruments used by the Gilyak for knotting their nets are of widely varying sizes, while

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●[113] [114] 1. Bullet. de la Classe phys.-math. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc., Vol. XV, p. 230, note 5; Mél. biolog., Vol. II, p. 501, note 5. The observations were made by Mr. Maximowicz on a voyage in the lower Amur region between the Nikolayev and Mariinski posts; to be sure, it is not said whether he was among the Gilyak or among the Olcha, but it may be safely assumed that the work discussed is done in precisely the same way among both of these peoples.

G. /535 cont./
Gi kinds of eager and assiduous hunting of game, whereas the onset
226 of winter seems to awaken in the latter a passion not entirely sup-
221 pressed by the fishermen's life, which temporarily transforms them,
as it were, into hunting nomads. Nevertheless it should not be
thought that among the Amur peoples the Gilyak alone busy
ooo themselves in the winter with fishing (1). The Olcha likewise

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[113] 1. As, for example, Arthur Nordmann ("Ueber den Fischfang und die Jagd der am Amur [illegible]nenden Giljaken /On the Fishing and Hunting of the Gilyak Living on the Amur/." -- Bull. de la Soc. Imp. des Natural. de Moscou, Vol. XXXIV, Part 2, 1861, p. 230) says.

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226 The Olcha likewise
practice it to a very considerable extent, and the Mariinski post
221 in the middle of their area was abundantly supplied with fresh
184 fish by them in the winters of 1855 and 1856. The Amur Goldi,
[439] too, devote themselves to it, but it gradually decreases among
[262] them going upstream: as I myself experienced, the traveler
going in this direction in winter is more and more commonly
offered deer, elk, and wild-pig meat or fat instead of fresh
fish. Przewalski (2) said of the Ussuri dwellers that fishing

2. Putesh. v" Ussur. kraie /Journey to the Ussuri Region/, p. 98.

practically ceases among them in winter because all the able-bodied men go hunting then and only the old men and the women left behind engage in angling. Sitting for hours at the holes in the ice, they continually move their tackle, equipped with only a small piece of red cloth or a bit of fur instead of bait, /536/ up and down, and, despite this simple procedure, it is said that on good days they succeed in catching from two to three pood of fish, chiefly carp (Cyprinus carpio) and salmon
ooo trout (Salmo fluviatilis Pall.). I found the Samagir along the

/544 cont./

000 bartering with them. Tschomi plays the same role in the south-
225 ern part of the Amur-Liman that Langr does in the north. In
184 particular the small group of the Hagimif Islands is one of the
[361] localities there frequently visited for hunting seals by all the
mainland Gilyak living adjacent to it. In order to hunt seals,
however, the enterprising Tschomi Gilyak also go south of the
Amur-Liman into the Mamia-Rinsô Strait and to the northern
end of the Sea of Japan, as well as to the opposite coast of
Sakhalin, where I saw them staying, for example, at Poghobi,
for this purpose. Scarcely less than in the rest of the Amur-
Liman, seal-hunting is also practiced immediately at the mouth
of the Amur River, at Tschcharbach, Ngale-wo, and Pronge,
where in particular the small island of Uĭsut is an especially
favorable spot for it.

225 According to the Gilyak, all the species of seals of the
136 Amur-Liman also enter the Amur River, with the sole exception
of the "*alch,*" *Phoca equestris* Pall., but the old animals are
said to go only a short distance from the mouth, whereas the
younger ones go up farther. In any case, *Ph. nummularis*
Schleg., which in the adult state is called *phghi-langr* by the
Gilyak, *gjäuchssa* by the Olcha, goes farthest upstream. It is
225 therefore the most important species of seal for the Amur Gilyak.
237 One sees its more or less densely spotted fur everywhere among
136 them and used in all kinds of ways, for clothing, as was dis-
cussed in detail above, ski, bags, small pouches, etc. Scarcely
less important for them, however, is the *kighitsch,* the *Ph.
barbata* Müll., which is less common in the river and whose
thicker skin, with the hair removed, is used for making the
foot part and the soles on their boots, the dog harness, and the
225 straps needed everywhere. The seals are said to go about 60
versts upstream in the two largest rivers of Sakhalin, the Tymy
and Plyi or Poron-ai (1), but as yet nothing is known about
the habits of the individual species.

●[113] 1. Mitsul', *Ocherk" ostr. Sakhal.* /Sketch of Sakhalin Island/, St. Petersburg, 1873, p. 48.

Gi 225 221 361 /547 cont./
Lake Tschlja, across the mountains to the Sea of Okhotsk, in order to occupy themselves there for a time with seal-hunting (2).

Gi 225 171 For the other Tungusic peoples of the Amur region nothing can be said about seal-hunting.

G 225 136 Catching the white whale comes into consideration for the Amur region within even narrower limits than seal-hunting. The distribution of the white whale (*Delphinapterus leucas* Pall., Gilyak *pomi-tscho*, Olcha *malta*) in the Amur region approximately coincides with the habitation area of the Gilyak; only along the east coast of Sakhalin and in the Amur River does it go somewhat beyond it to the south, whereas on the west coast G 136 of the island it falls back to the north behind it. An inhabitant of the arctic seas, among which the Sea of Okhotsk also belongs in view of its general character, the white whale goes down along the east coast of Sakhalin to its southern end and occurs in particular in great numbers in the Bay of Patience and at the mouth of the Poronai (3). On the other hand it remains far from

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2. According to Boschnjak and Schmidt, see pp. 26 and 63 above.

G ● [113] 3. Poliakov", *Putesh. na ostr. Sakhalin"* /Journey to Sakhalin Island/ (supplement to Vol. XIX of *Izv. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch.*, pp. 107, 111). The same, *Otchet" ob" izslied. na ostr. Sakhalinie, v" Iuzhno-Ussuriisk. kraie i v" Iaponii* /Summary of the Research on Sakhalin Island, in the Southern Ussuri Region, and in Japan/ (supplement to Vol. XLVIII of *Zap. Imp. Akad. Nauk"*, No. 6, pp. 5-7). At the latter place, Poljakof reports that the white whale appears in large schools in front of the mouth of the Poro-nai even before the river has shed its cover

225 171 825 /549 cont./ And, strangely enough, the custom of sticking the skulls of slain white-whales on a tree or, lacking one of them, on vertical piles driven into the ground prevails among some of them, as Pallas (1), for instance, reports for the Samoyed and

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1. Reise durch versch. Prov. des Russ. Reichs, Vol. III, p. 85; Zoographia rosso-asiat., Part I, p. 275.

Ostyak along the Obj River.

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Section 9

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Hunting the Animals of the Forest. Hunting Equipment. Iron Hunting-weapons and Other Iron Weapons and their Manufacture. Protective Armor and Arms of Honor.

224 171 As we now turn to the second main source of subsistence of the Amur peoples, hunting the animals of the forest, I must first point out, recapitulating briefly and summarily the remarks frequently made above, that it, in direct contrast to fishing, increases the more in immediate importance and significance the farther upstream one goes from the mouth of the Amur and into its tributaries, and, finally, in the upper Amur region, just like fishing in the lower one, becomes the primary and most essential condition for the existence of its peoples.

224 [439] The Gilyak, with whom we again begin our observations, are accordingly, as the most sedentary, the most ichthyophagous, and in general the most pronounced fishing people of the Amur region, the least devoted of all its peoples to hunting the animals of the forest. Whereas for them catching fish, seals, and white whales serves for the immediate satisfaction of their needs in clothing and in food for themselves and their dogs, hunting by and large serves these ends

/551 cont./

224 2. (cont.)
tree-trunk, but always runs over it
lengthways.

/552/ in the small side valleys of the upper Tymy River on
Sakhalin I repeatedly came across either sable traps of this kind
still set up or traces of them remaining on the trees. To the
[192] chagrin of the Gilyak, however, other small and more or less
worthless animals often get caught in the ha instead of sables,
such as squirrels (Gilyak lakr and lakrs, in the interior and along
the east coast of Sakhalin lafkor), ermine (Gilyak tymr and
tymrsch, in the interior and along the east coast of Sakhalin
tchymr), and on the mainland especially frequently the Mustela
sibirica (Gilyak zongrsk), which is so much like the sable in its
way of life and is absent on Sakhalin, and, indeed, in the village of Warki on the Liman, the Gilyak even brought me a jay
(Garrulus glandarius) which had been found in a ha and bore the
[171] marks of the pinching on its neck. This sable trap of the Gilyak,
by the way, is not at all original, since, apart from the Amur
Tungus, it recurs with the same or quite similar construction
among a number of Siberian peoples, for example, among the
sedentary Koryak on Penshinsker /Penzhina/ Bay, in the northern
Kamchatka (1), among the Russian Tungus in the Stanovoi
Mountains (2), and others, and in general rests on the same
principle that the traps used for catching polar fox, hares, etc.
throughout the polar north of Siberia are based on (3).

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[113] 1. Kennan, Tent-Life in Siberia, London, 1871, p. 108.

[113] 2. Sievers, "Briefe aus Sibirien /Letters from Siberia/," (Pallas, Neue Nord. Beytr. Vol. VII, p. 212).

[114] 3. A detailed description and an illustration of this last trap is to be found, among

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224 Finally, the Gilyak also set out poisoned pellets in order to
278 catch foxes and wolves, and the poison seems to be strychnine,
192 which they buy for the purpose from the Chinese for a high price
439 and, in accordance with the use that they make of it, call
käkch-ocht, i.e. fox poison (3).

411 When I was among the Gilyak, firearms were not used at all,
177 though they were acquainted with them, and, to be sure, from two
439 directions: in the first place by way of their northern and western
neighbors, the Russian Tungus, Negda, and Samagir, among
whom, thanks to Yakut traders, one of the well-known, small-
caliber, Russian-Siberian rifles (a so-called pea-shooter (4) is
occasionally found, and, on the other hand, by way of their
southern neighbors, the Olcha and Goldi, to whom, though like-
wise only rarely, one of those often-described, long and clumsy
000 Chinese matchlock penetrated (5). The Gilyak also have their

3. Among the Gilyak *ocht* means "substance" in general -- a meaning which we shall encounter on several occasions in the following, but also "medicine" and in the present case probably "poison" -- a naïve-instinctive identification of curative and deadly agents, medicine and poison!

4. Accordingly, among the Samagir on the Gorin, the powder also had a name borrowed from the Russian (*pórokh"*): *póroke*.

•[113] 5. According to Barrow (*Reise durch China im Gefolge der grossbritannischen Gesandtschaft in den Jahren 1793 und 1794* /Journey through China in the Retinue of the Ambassador of

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5. (cont.)
Great Britain in 1793 and 1794/, translated from the English by Hüttner, Vienna, 1805, Vol. I, p. 302; Vol. II, p. 58), these are exact copies of the old Portuguese matchlock guns imported to Macao and therefore are by no means very old.

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192 The Gilyak also have their own, in part very characteristically formed terms for the gun, its individual components, and various kinds of ammunition. For example, among them a gun, regardless of type, is called mãotscha, the barrel of it -- kolm (6), the gunpowder --

6. Accordingly, a single-barreled gun is designated as njakr-kolm-mãotscha, a double-barreled one as mjakr-kolm-mãotscha.

mãotscha-ocht, i.e., "gun substance," or, according to the above observation, in view of its deadly effect, perhaps also "gun poison," the bullet -- mãotscha-ku, i.e., "gun arrow," shot -- matschi-ku (short for matschi-mãotscha-ku), i.e., "small arrows," 000 and the piston -- pachlan-tur, i.e., "copper fire" (7). It was

7. In the case of the Russian-Yakut gun, the Gilyak call the fork fastened movable to the barrel, and used to support the gun while shooting, simply ngytschch (i.e., foot or feet), and for the powder horn they use the expression notrossj, whose etymology is unknown to me.

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152 It was surprising how little /558/ pleasure the Gilyak showed over a gun, whereas a Tungus goes into noisy rapture and shouts for joy at the sight of a neat gun -- obviously they not only lack practical knowledge of the thing, but also a true hunter's heart. At the

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1. (cont.)
of this event had spread from Ulban Bay to the Amur and Liman, and the Gilyak were afraid that I might have a similar magic wand.

441 In my time the only shooting weapons of the Gilyak were the
171 bow and arrow, which they used on occasion against large as
well as small animals. The bow (Gilyak puntsch, on Sakhalin
[192] punt) is of the same nature as among the Tungus and other
Siberian peoples. It is made of the wood of young ash trees
[824] or, lacking them, of good birch wood. In the Tymy Valley
[192] on Sakhalin the Gilyak designated to me the kind of wood
called per by them, i.e., according to Schmidt and Glehn,
Evonymus macropterus Rupr., /559/ as their "punt-tschchar"
(bow wood) (1), as is also the case among the Ainu (2).

1. Or, as they said as a rule, "punt-lytynt-tschchar," that is, bow-making wood.

•[113] 2. Schmidt, "Reisen im Amur-Lande und auf der Insel Sachalin, Botanischer Theil /Travels in the Amur Region and on Sakhalin Island, Botanical Section/" (Mém. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc., seventh series, Vol. XII, No. 2, pp. 99, 213, 215).

41 In order to protect the wood from dampness and to retain its
237 flexibility, the bow has fine birch bark pasted on it, or, as I
531 have seen on especially fine specimens, for example, on the
bow from Tebach shown on Plate XLIV /see p. 1024/, Figs. 4 and 5,
is covered with fine elk skin on the inside, i.e. on the side
turned away from the marksman when shooting, but on the outer
side turned toward the hunter, with whalebone (Gilyak asm) (3),

[104] 3. The s is soft here, like the French z.

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411 [192] yghli or orkai by the Gilyak (Pl. XLVI /see p. 1026/, Fig. 1), is used to kill wild fowl, ducks, geese, and the like. It consists almost wholly of wood, in that at the top the shaft runs out into a knob crowned with a point and in which are found three iron 000 points, but blunt ones, turned in different directions (5). I have

411 171 175 [113]

5. There is mention of similar, knob-shaped arrows among various peoples of Siberia in some of the oldest reports on it. For example, Georg Adam Schleissing in his work, Neuentdecktes Sieweria, worinnen die Zobel gefangen werden /Newly Discovered Siberia, Where the Sables Are Caught/, etc. (Danzig, 1692, p. 49), reports that the people there do not shoot pointed arrows but rather "in order that the rare hide not be damaged, the arrow, instead of a point, has a thick iron knob with which they shoot the sable down from the tree, so that it is dizzy and then they run up and beat it to death." Pallas (Reise durch versch. Prov. des Russ. Reichs /Journey through Various Provinces of the Russian Empire/, Vol. I, p. 323) mentions wooden arrows with knob-shaped points which the Kalmyk use to kill birds and small animals. Sujef (in Pallas, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 49) reports on the arrows with a blunt bone knob used among the Ostyak along the Obj for shooting smaller animals, and in Middendorff's travel work (Vol. IV, p. 1376, woodcuts e and d), there is an illustration of such a knob-shaped Ostyak arrow point.

441 171 /559 cont./ I have never heard anything among the Gilyak about poisoning their arrows, as is done among the Ainu of /560/ Sakhalin and Jesso /Yesso/ (1) and, according to Steller (2) and Krascheninnikof (3),

[113] 1. Siebold, Aardr. en volkenk. toelicht. /Geographical and Ethnographical Explanations/, etc., pp. 95, 96, 112, on the basis of reports by Hieron. de Angelis, Joan Saris, and Vries; the same, Nippon, VII, pp. 185 and 201, according to Mamia Rinsô; the same, Fauna Japon., Mammalia, p. 29. Langsdorf, Bemerk. auf einer Reise um die Welt /Notes on a Voyage around the World/, Vol. I, p. 287. v. Brandt (Verhandl. der Ges. für Anthrop., Ethnol. u. Vorgesch., Year 1872, p. 28). Dobrotvorskii, Ainsko-russk. slovar' /Ainu-Russian Dictionary/, Preface (supplement to Uchen. Zap. Imp. Kazansk. Univers., 1875, p. 45), etc.

2. Beschreib. von dem Lande Kamtschatka /Description of the Country of Kamchatka/, pp. 27, 95, 236.

3. "Opis. Kamchatki /Description of Kamchatka/" (Poln. sobr. uchen. putesh. po Rossii, Vol. I, p. 334).

is said to have been customary among the Kuriles, Italmen, Koryak, and Chukchee, and perhaps in part still is. Middendorff (4), to be sure, says that the same custom is supposed

4. Reise, Vol. IV, p. 1377.

to have been passed on to the Tungus of Manchuria, but he gives no source to support his statement. Maack (5) states that the

825 114 756 224 533 [113] /563 cont/

it to come out from its hiding place (2). For the shamans among the Gilyak, quite apart from the character ascribed here to their songs, which in reality never at any time belonged to them, have nothing whatever to do with hunting, either for bears or for other animals. They never interfere with the pursuits of the practical life, fishing, hunting, trading, of this superstitious, to be sure, but vigorous and enterprising people, and, on the contrary, as we shall see in the following, practice their arts on entirely different occasions. 224 825 The Gilyak, by the way, do not regard the capture of a bear as an offense perpetrated against it, because through this it is introduced to a life with abundant food, a good home, and many marks of respect. [796] The spirits of revenge can be aroused only by its death and being eaten, and therefore the bear festivals, leading to this outcome, are surrounded by a number of rules of behavior dictated by superstition, whose observance is supposed to ward off misfortune. [777] The other animals are given less consideration, but even with regard to them there are many rules that are not to be neglected without causing future mishaps in connection with the hunting concerned, and, along with this, depending on the kind of animal involved, more or less grievous injury to the profits. /564/ 224 825 123 777 For example, I by accident came across the following superstition concerning the hunting of sables. When I entered the yurt of Miwwach on the lower Tymy on Sakhalin, I saw a sable hanging from the wall beam, which was still completely intact and evidently had just been brought in from a trap. As I was looking at the animal, the wife of the absent owner entered; obviously distressed because I had seen the

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2. Arth. Nordmann, "Ueber den Fischfang und die Jagd der am Amur wohnenden Giljaken /On the Fishing and Hunting of the Gilyak Living on the Amur/ (Bull. de la Soc. Imp. des Natur. de Moscou, 1861, Vol. XXXIV, Sec. Part, p. 251).

/564 cont./
224 animal, she reached for a fur cap and hung it over it and then,
825 after a while, she took it from the wall, wrapped it in birch
123 bark, and put it with the other possessions of the house. My
777 efforts to buy it were entirely in vain, despite the high price
that I offered; I was told categorically that it was already
"*uïtsch*" (unlucky) that I, a stranger, had seen the animal un-
skinned, but the consequences for sable-hunting in the future
would be even worse if she were to sell it to me in an intact
224 825 state (1). The Gilyak in all probability behave in the same
way toward the other precious fur-bearing animals, in connection with which they are evidently governed by the same superstitious belief which I have already discussed above (p. 851) in speaking about seal-hunting. The utilitarian standpoint with regard to this superstition is also evident in the fact that it does not extend to worthless animals whose capture means nothing to the Gilyak, for fresh specimens of squirrels and *Mustela sibirica* just taken from the trap were relinquished to me by the Gilyak without further ado. If, on the whole, the traveler comes across far fewer Gilyak superstitions concerning hunting and the individual animals hunted than is the case with regard

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1. This superstition, which I also found
[171] among the Goldi, is no less prevalent among
[113] the Siberian Tungus and was transmitted by
them to the Russian hunters in Siberia.
Gmelin (*Reise durch Sibirien* /Journey through Siberia/, Göttingen, 1752, Vol. II, p. 278) for example, wrote of the Russian hunters from Kirenskoi Ostrog setting out in troops to hunt sable: "as soon as a sable is caught, it must be put away properly without anyone's having seen it, for they believe that if anything good or bad is said about the captured sable the rest of the catch will be spoiled."

175 /566 cont./ During his captivity in Siberia at the beginning of the previous
114 century, Strahlenberg was told that a people living at the mouth
411 of the Amur, the Kilani, whom the Russians call "Kilaki,"
326 "make excellent, fine weapons, and among them the best bows,
[101] and work in iron" (2) -- a report which was given so little credence
by a later traveler, Gmelin, chiefly no doubt on account of the
indeed very strange linking of the Kilani with the Persian province
of Gilan and the Awaren /Avar/ to it, that he felt obliged to
question the very existence of such a people (3). Gmelin thought
that if there were a people there which was especially distinguished
by its weapons-making, all of Siberia must be filled
with them, and these weapons would long since have been available,
if not from the people themselves, at least through the
[531] [321] Chinese (4). Nevertheless, the report which came to Strahlenberg's
attention more than one and a half centuries ago is now confirmed,
for both the above-mentioned bows faced with buffalo horn and
decorated with silver and the beautiful lances, spears, and
knives with inlaid figures in copper, brass, and silver, which
have no equal among any of the Siberian peoples, are of Gilyak
326 workmanship. If, however, these beautiful weapons were unknown
411 in Siberia in Gmelin's time, and even today scarcely go beyond
556 the Amur region, the reason lies, on the one hand, in the small
quantity of metal available to the Gilyak, and, on the other hand,
and even more, in the high value which they themselves put on

[113] 2. Ph. Joh. v. Strahlenberg, Das Nord- und Ostliche Theil von Europa und Asia /The Northern and Eastern Parts of Europe and Asia/, Stockholm, 1730, p. 386.

3. See p. 203 above.

4. J. G. Gmelin, Reise durch Sibirien, Göttingen, 1752, Vol. II, Preface.

/573 cont./
114 714 that it is known under the name of "bettsi," in which can be
[192] recognized without difficulty the above-mentioned Gilyak designation "petsch" distorted in Japanese fashion. He says of it that,
although little used, it was greatly esteemed and in war was the
714 556 chief decoration of the one chosen as the leader. In the case of
the latter statement the imagination of the traveler may have put
in a word, but the former one is perfectly correct; in my time
these pieces of armor were not used at all, but, though most of
them were in a damaged condition and, indeed, were often to
be found only in fragmentary parts, they were regarded as such
valuable objects that they gave their owners an aura of extraordinary wealth and respect, and a few of them sufficed for the
purchase of a wife. Today, therefore, they are only rare antiques
[177] of fabulously high value. They owe this to their foreign origin,
for, according to unanimous statements by the Gilyak, they
came from the Manchu, and, as Mamia Rinsô also states, are
highly prized by the latter themselves.

171 175 It is known from the oldest European reports on the subject (2) that even the ancient Manchu (Njutschi) had pieces of armor and helmets, which, like the ones described above, consisted of iron lamellas placed over one another like scales and connected with one another by pins or fastened to a leather foundation. After the conquest of China by the Manchu such armor and helmets were also worn by the Chinese soldiers, officers, and by the

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714 [113] 2. Cf. Neuhof, Die Gesantschaft der Ost-Indisch. Gesellsch. in den vereinigt. Niederländern an den Tartarisch. Cham u. nunmehr auch Sinisch. Keiser /The Embassy of the East Indies Company in the Territories of the Netherlands to the Tatarian Khan and Now Also to the Chinese Emperor/, Amsterdam, 1666, p. 394. Also Witsen, Noord en Oost Tartarye, second edition, Amsterdam, 1705, pp. 3, 6, 13.

G 171 175 714 G [113]

/573 cont./
emperor himself (3). Also of interest for our purpose is the

3. Gerbillon in Du Halde, Descript. de l'Empire de la Chine et de la Tartarie Chinoise, Paris, 1735, Vol. IV, p. 273.

statement by Iakinf, the well-known member of the Russian mission in Peking in the years 1807-1820, according to which, among the gifts prescribed by law which the Chinese emperor /574/ had to give to the father of his bride and young wife upon his engagement and marriage was to be found a certain number of pieces of armor and helmets (1). Under these circumstances it is

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1. Iakinf", Kitai, ego zhiteli, nravy, obychai, prosvieshch. /China, Its Inhabitants, Morals, Customs, Enlightenment/, St. Petersburg, 1840, p. 164.

quite understandable that these objects would also appear as most valuable and honorable possessions in the eyes of the peoples of the lower Amur region standing under the rule or at least under the influence of the Manchu-Chinese, down to the Gilyak, and, accordingly, would be used by them in their most important social transaction, the purchase of a wife.

Gi 714 325 177 [114] [101]

The art of making iron armor was also passed from the Manchu-Chinese to the Goldi immediately neighboring them in the Sungari and lower Amur region, and Mamia Rinsô specifically mentions the latter, distorting their national name in Japanese fashion as "Kordekke" (2), as makers of the iron armor. Needless

2. See p. 315 above.

to say, these were not the first and only objects that the Goldi learned how to make from their southern neighbors. Here, therefore, we see the art of forging iron advancing along another route from the Manchu-Chinese, down the Sungari and Amur,

Gi 325 171

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439 (Sakhalin), and which he therefore calls "Kraft-ori" (1).

[113] 1. "Jesoki, ou Descr. de l'île de Jesso," translated from the Japanese by the late M. Titsingh (Annales des Voyages, publ. by Malte-Brun, Vol. XXIV, Paris, 1814, pp. 162, 164). Cf. also p. 262, note 3, above.

175 439 There is an even more definite statement in Rinsifée's work, San kokf tsou ran to sets, published in Jedo /Yedo, or Tokyo/ in 1785 or 1786, where it is said that the inhabitants of Jesso (Matsmai) exchange their products on Karafuto with the "Mantsiu" for blue glass beads, eagle wings, tobacco pipes, silken fabrics embroidered with dragons, and colored linen and cotton materials (2). This undoubtedly refers to the trade which the Manchu-Chinese, Gilyak, and Olcha, with the above-named, mostly Chinese commodities, but in part also indigenous products of the Amur region (such as the eagle tails), conducted on Sakhalin with the Japanese and Ainu of this island and, through their intermediation, also with the inhabitants of Jesso, and which the last-named indigenous peoples of the lower Amur region and some of the Goldi still conduct. To be sure, they are not named there, but this is not to be expected in view of the lack of knowledge about the peoples of the lower Amur region at that time on the part of the Japanese, and, rather, it is to be assumed that under "Mantsiu" in the collective sense they meant all those people there carrying on trade with Manchu-Chinese

[113] 2. Klaproth, San kokf tsou ran to sets, ou Aperçu général des trois royaumes /General Survey of the Three Kingdoms/, Paris, 1832, p. 190. Cf. also Ritter, Asien, Vol. III, p. 487.

/609 cont./

175 439 commodities. The Gilyak and Olcha coming to Sakhalin to trade with the Japanese are simply designated as "Manchu" even by many a more recent Russian reporter (3), though at present

●[113] 3. For instance, by Rudanofskij (cf. P. Tikhmenev", Istor. obozr. obrazovaniia Rossiisko-amerik. Kompanii i dieistv. eia do nastoiashch. vrem. /Historical Survey of the Founding of the Russian-American Company and of Its Activities up to the Present/, Part II, St. Petersburg, 1863, p. 127), Busse, (Ostrov" Sakhalin" i Eksped. 1853 g. /Sakhalin Island and the Expedition of 1853/, St. Petersburg, 1872, pp. 62, 72, 85), and others.

neither they nor the Chinese merchants referred to as a rule under this name by the Russians visit Sakhalin. The first Russian report concerning the trade in question is almost as old as the last-mentioned Japanese account. In 1792, Adam Laxmann heard the Japanese on Jesso speak of the "Sandan-aino" who bring beads and fabrics to "Karap" (Krafto, Sakhalin) and barter for animal furs, sable, fox, etc. (4). To be sure, he thought that

[113] 4. Cf. Polonskii, "Kurily /The Kuriles/" (Zap. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., po otd. Etnogr., Vol. IV, pp. 493, 541). Similarly see p. 245 above.

these "Sandan People" must be Koreans, but since, as was discussed above at length (5), "Santan" is the Japanese and Ainu

5. See pp. 245 and 247, as well as the footnote.

/612 cont./
439 their own observations, and concerning Japan, the homeland of
484 the Ssisam, they know only that it is a land beyond Sakhalin
648 (Lär-mif) and separated from it by a "small sea" (matsch-kerchk).
[823] /613/ In the years immediately following the occupation of the
175 Amur region by the Russians, however, the Japanese also tried
648 to keep the traders from there away from Ssiranussi and Endungomo,
439 their second-largest settlement on the west coast of Sakhalin and, at the same time, to extend their colonization of the island as far north as possible in order to prevent any eventual expansion of Russian power beyond it and especially any alienation of the Ainu subjugated and exploited by them (1). In 1859, for instance, the Gilyak coming to Sakhalin to trade were no longer admitted to Ssiranussi by the Japanese but only as far as Endungomo, and in the following year the Olcha traders were prohibited from entering even that place, so some of them remained in Kussunai and some went to Taraika on the east coast (2). Even Judin, the Gilyak from Tebach, was affected by this prohibition, though in former years he had often been in Ssiranussi and was well known there; in fact, he had frequently been used as an interpreter, thanks to his knowledge of the Ainu language, which was familiar to him from his mother, stemming from this people. But these, as well as all the later changes and upheavals in trade conditions caused by the Russian occupation of the Amur region, fall outside the scope of our considerations.

1. Concerning these events, see pp. 153-156 above.

[113] 2. Brylkin", "Pis'ma s" Sakhalina /Letters from Sakhalin/" (Zap. Sib. Otd. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Book VII, pp. 22, 26). Also, Schmidt, "Hist. Ber.," etc., op. cit., pp. 107 and 108.

/633 cont./

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5 pieces of Chinese silk at 4 ja each, together	20 ja
1 large Chinese hearth-kettle	3 "
1 Japanese kettle with three handles	30 "
1 Manchurian iron-armor	30 "
1 large bear	30 "
5 especially good dogs (kyla-kan) at 4 ja each	20 "
Total	133 ja = about 266 rubles.

583 The bride price is therefore very high among the Gilyak, which indicates the relative prosperity of the people (1). Custom

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1. For the sake of comparison I shall cite here the bride price of several Siberian peoples in older and more recent times. At the time of Adam Brand (Neuverm. Beschr. seiner grossen Chinesisch. Reise, welche er anno 1692 etc. /Newly Enlarged Description of His Great Chinese Journey Which He in 1692, etc./, Lübeck, 1734, p. 99), it amounted to 10-15 reindeer among the Tungus on the Werchnaja Tunguska. A rich Ostyak girl on the Obj at the time of Pallas was not often given in marriage for less than 100 reindeer and a quantity of all kinds of furs (Sujef, in Pallas, Reise durch versch. Prov. des Russ. Reichs /Travels through Various Provinces of the Russian Empire/, St. Petersb., Vol. III, 1776, p. 52). According to Castren (Reiseber. und Briefe aus d. J. 1845-1849 /Travel Report and Letters from the Years 1845-49/, St. Petersb., 1856, p. 56), the current price for an ordinary girl in marriage among the Ostyak on the Irtysch amounted to 200-300 rubles in

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583 1. (cont.)
171 money, one horse, a cow, and an ox,
113 7-10 different pieces of clothing, a pood
of flour, a pail of liquor, and some hops for the preparations for the wedding celebration. The high bride-prices which Middendorff (Reise in d. Nord. und Ost. Siberien's /Travels in the North and East of Siberia/, Vol. IV, p. 1459) gives for the Assja-Samoyed women are somewhat reduced by the dowry which the bride brings, so that under some circumstances it almost only amounts to an exchange, which is never the case among the Gilyak. On the other hand, the bride price was very low among the Votyak, Cheremis, and Chuvash: among the former, who were the poorest, it amounted to only 5-15 rubles, among the latter two 10-30 rubles, and among the Kungur Cheremis, who were the wealthiest, 100 rubles and more (Müller, Samml. Russ. Gesch. /A Collection on Russian History/, Vol. III, p. 369).

583 requires that it be paid at one time and not in installments. In
583 view of the circumspect and thrifty nature of this people, con-
595 stantly thinking in terms of augmenting its possessions, as has
556 been pointed out in my previous descriptions, even a well-to-do
184 man will not find it easy to buy a second or a third wife, in addi-
tion to the one. Only a particularly intense desire to have his wealth duly appreciated by his countrymen and thus to gain special esteem among them would prompt him to do so. Therefore, polygamy is more frequent among the generally wealthier Amur Gilyak living together more densely than it is among their countrymen along the Liman, on Sakhalin, and along the coast of the Sea of Okhotsk.

/635 cont./

583 or unable to pay the high bride price of the Amur Gilyak. And
628 among the latter the Tammla-wo Gilyak are especially notorious
684 and feared on account of their predatory disposition.

As much harm as the abduction of women causes for many Gilyak, and as bloody as the consequences are as a rule because of their emotional and irascible temperament, a lighter and nobler aspect appears in the motives occasioning it. Since, as has been said, it almost always takes place with the consent of the female party, inducements other than crude male rapacity, in particular a revolt of female pride against the treatment of the wife as a mere object of purchase, and in certain cases even deeper affection defying all obstacles and dangers, may also not infrequently contribute to it in decisive fashion. Thus, in
[533] abducting a wife there is a romantic-poetic element which the
[126] conclusion of marriage by purchase lacks, and it is certainly no
mere accident that among the few Gilyak songs which I obtained, and which, unfortunately, are unintelligible to me except for individual words, there are two which allegedly were sung by Gilyak men (Orkin and Largun) to their wives (Rschywguk and Nymguk) obtained by abduction.

583 Another point with regard to the abduction of women must
114 be touched upon here. Dr. Awgustinowitsch, who spent a year
(1871/72) as a physician in the Gilyak part of Sakhalin, maintains that, in order to get married, the Gilyak are absolutely obliged to steal the girl of their choice, which is almost always done with her and her parents' consent: among them the abduction of the bride constitutes the whole ceremonial of concluding the marriage; later the man brings to his parents-in-law a gift which usually consists of a weapon that can be used for fishing or hunting (2). If this statement is supposed to imply actual obligatory

●[113] 2. F. Avgustinovich", Zhizn' Russkikh" i inorodtsev" na ostr. Sakhalinie /Life of the Russians and the Aborigines on Sakhalin Island/, St. Petersb., 1874, p. 38.

/635 cont./
583 wife-abduction, it needs no further special refutation after what
114 has been said above. But in view of everything that I heard from
them about it, I must also deny that the Gilyak must always undertake the mock abduction of the bride or maiden in concluding a marriage, which can be regarded as a survival of a formerly obligatory wife-abduction among them. The abduction of a woman is never a /636/ trifling affair among them, but, as has been said, is damage to property, always a deadly serious business.

582 Let us now return to the regular conclusion of marriage among
601 the Gilyak. Only to a very limited extent is blood relationship an obstacle to marriage, in that only siblings and the children of brothers are not permitted to marry each other. Even in the language they are not differentiated, in that "ykyn" and "atschek" mean older and younger brother as well as older and younger cousin on the father's side, and "ransh" means sister as well as female cousin on the father's side, and, accordingly, the brother and the sister of the father are designated with the same word as father and mother, namely, "ytyk" and "ymyk." But beyond that,
582 the membership of both partners in the same paternal kin group, which, as we shall see later, is also taken into account in other connections by the Gilyak, constitutes no obstacle to marriage among them as it does among some Siberian peoples (1) and, on the other hand, among the Chinese (2) and through them, in

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[171] [113] 1. As, for instance, among the Ostyak, Samoyed, Lapps Tyler /Tylor/, Forsch. über die Urgesch. der Mensch. und die Entwick. der Civilis. /Researches into the Early History of Mankind and the Development of Civilization/, transl. from the English by H. Müller, p. 359).

[113] 2. Du Halde, Descr. de l'Emp. de la Chine et de la Tart. Chinoise, Paris, 1735, Vol. III, p. 133. Pauthier,

/636 cont./

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2. (cont.)
Chine mod. ou descr. de ce vaste Emp. d'après des docum. chinois, Part I, pp. 25, 275; Part II, p. 238. Iakinf", Kitai /China/, St. Petersb., 1840, p. 198.

a much distorted form, among the Goldi (3). Even a difference

3. A more detailed explanation of this will be given in the following.

563 Even a difference
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of nationality is by no means as decisive for the conclusion of the marriage of the Gilyak as one would expect from the radical difference of their language from those of all their neighbors. On the mainland there are frequent marriages between the Gilyak and their immediate neighbors on the Amur, the Olcha, and probably it is to this circumstance above all that the similarity in the customs and usages of the two peoples, or, in other words, the Gilyakization of the Olcha stressed several times already, is to be attributed. To a lesser degree the same thing also takes place with the Negda. Occasionally an Amur Gilyak will bring home from a trading trip to the Japanese a wife from the Ainu people (4).

4. The mother of the wealthy Gilyak Judin in Tebach, for instance, was an Ainu woman, as was mentioned above (p. 224 /untranslated/).

Conversely, however, it hardly ever happens that Amur-Gilyak women marry Ainu men, because the latter are not in the habit of leaving their island and, if this should happen as an exception, would not be in a position to pay the high bride price of the Gilyak. Where, however, as on Sakhalin, the two peoples live directly beside each other and the bride price is also lower, frequent marriages take place between them, as Mamia Rinsô reported (5),

5. Siebold, Nippon, VII, 195.

and the assimilation between the two tribes is considerable.

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834 The moral austerity of the Gilyak also appears in the
577 altogether decent behavior of the two sexes toward each other
and in the modesty of their women and girls. One living with
them in their houses never sees indecent physical exposure,
such as occurs so frequently among the Ainu (2), or any other
577 shocking scenes. Violations of chastity, particularly among
836 unmarried persons, are, of course, not impossible, but are
848 most severely censured by the parents of the girl who has
847 been seduced and has given birth to a child. According to
the Gilyak, in such a case the girl's mother metes out
corporal punishment to her daughter, while the father tries
to eliminate the scandal by killing the newborn child and
[562] secretly doing away with it. This is always done if the child
is a girl, whereas a boy is shown mercy in certain circumstances, and the girl's chances suffer less in this case.

837 Although contracted by purchase, and in part because
593 of this, as is clear from what has been said, the marriages
[581] of the Gilyak usually take a happy or at least a satisfactory
course. Marital fidelity is strictly observed. The husband
jealously guards the fidelity of his wife, especially while
she is young, and the latter is on her guard against giving
her husband cause for mistrust and suspicion and arousing his
586 anger. One very salutary influence checking and curbing
the passions on both sides is the circumstance that the husband,
if he casts out his wife for any reason and returns her to her
parents does not by any means thereby gain any right to a refund of the articles paid for her, and that, on the other hand,
he may claim such a refund if the wife leaves him on her
own accord. In this case she may by no means count on a
friendly reception by her parents. Therefore, simply for

• [113] 2. N. Busse, Ostr. Sakhalin" i Eksped. 1853-54 gg. /Sakhalin Island and the Expedition of 1853-54/, St. Petersb., 1872, pp. 55, 56, 70.

/641 cont./

844 erected for this purpose near the house, where a small fire can
[343] also be kept going. Nevertheless, with the low winter temperatures
[132] and the severe snowstorms in the Gilyak country, this is still
[165] a harsh demand for mother and child, and I do not doubt but that
the high mortality among Gilyak children and the generally small population of the Gilyak are caused in large part by this bad custom. I am unable to say what conceptions gave rise to it. It is not likely, however, that it is based upon the superstition
[846] that there is something inherently unclean about the woman during
delivery, for, as Dr. Seeland (2) and Deniker (3) note, she is subjected to no special purification after it, but, on the contrary, after about 8-12 days may return to the house without further ado.
114 The first-named thinks rather that this /642/ custom may be
844 linked with the Gilyak belief that misfortune will befall a house
768 in which a death has occurred and therefore it has to be torn
[763] down; for this reason they also have dying persons carried out of
the house and left to lie there until they are dead (1). It is possible that they have such a notion, but it still has to be substantiated that they actually tear down or at least abandon a house in which someone has died, which still seems very doubtful, particularly with respect to the large and complex Chinese

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[113] 2. "Die Ghiliaken, eine ethnographische Skizze /The Gilyak, an Ethnographic Sketch/," (Russische Revue, edited by Carl Röttger, Vol. XXI, St. Petersburg, 1882.

[113] 3. Cf. Dr. H. Ploss, das Weib in der Natur- und Völkerkunde /Woman in Natural Science and Ethnology/, 3rd ed., edited and published by Dr. Max Bartels, Leipzig, 1891, Vol. II, p. 43.

1. Dr. Seeland, op. cit., p. 223.

/643 cont./
854 when swung, strike one another and the cradle producing noise
and a clanking sound. The same purpose is in part served by a
second bundle of similar knickknacks which is hung in front of the
854 cradle so that the child can reach for it. Underneath I also saw
in the village of Wassj a bundle of fine shavings, a so-called zach,
789 which evidently had a special purpose, namely, that of protecting the child against the influence of evil spirits. Finally, in a
[856] spot visible to the child in the cradle, a tschaltscha-tschngai, or,
more precisely, matscherlagu (children)-tschaltscha-tschngai,
that is, a wooden figure with movable joints throughout (Pl. LV,
Fig. 1 /see p. 1255/), carved at the time of its birth, is hung
so that the child, by looking at it, may remain sound of limb
and agile.

855 The great movability of the cradle enables the mother to
give the child the breast without lifting it out of the cradle. Gilyak
862 mothers suckle their children a very long time, up to four or five,
and even longer, and then do not stop all at once, but permit
the children, even after they have become accustomed to a different diet, to come back to the mother's breast from time to
time, whenever it strikes their fancy. In Nyi I saw a boy, who
allegedly was five years old, but who, judging by his size and
behavior, /644/ could have been almost seven, and wore both
pants and the pouch underneath customary for the male sex among
the Gilyak, suddenly stop his activities and run to his mother. She
was sitting on the sleeping bench and was sewing; the rascal remained standing on the floor in front of her and by his impetuous
855 demands succeeded in having her give him the breast. This re-
862 minded me of what La Pérouse experienced among the Orochi in
de Castries Bay: there he saw a boy draw a bow, shoot an arrow
171 very well, hit a dog with the stick, and then throw himself at
his mother's breast and behave like a child of five or six months (1).

•[113] 1. La Pérouse, Voyage aut. du monde /Voyage around the World/, Vol. III, p. 68. The Siberian peoples, too, suckle their children up to the age of four or five; the Ostyak, for instance (Sujef, in Pallas' Reise durch versch.

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1. (cont.)
Prov. des Russ. Reichs, Vol. III, p. 53), the Kalmuck (Pallas, Samml. histor. Nachrichten über die Mongolischen Völkersch. /Collection of Historical Reports on the Mongolian Peoples/, St. Petersb., 1776, Vol. I, p. 167), the Tungus (Middendorff, Reise, etc., Vol. IV, p. 1496), and others.

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Among the Gilyak it not infrequently happens that, in addition to the actual suckling, several older children drink from the mother (2). The excessively long nursing of the children is undoubtedly the main reason that the Gilyak women age and decline so early. I have seen some among them who, judging by their wrinkled and ruined appearance, one would say were at least 50 to 60 years old, and yet who still nursed their children and therefore presumably were only about 30 to 40 years old. And undoubtedly this is one of the reasons for the small number of people and the slow increase of the Gilyak population.

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Children at a later age, just as in the cradle, are not kept very clean; in fact, when they have outgrown the cradle and run about freely, the little cleanliness and hygienic care that came their way up to that time usually cease altogether. It is extremely rare to see a mother wash a somewhat older child, and, to be sure, in the manner I witnessed and described above (3) in the

2. Among the Tungus, according to Middendorff (op. cit.), it even happened that "a ten-year-old urchin quite calmly sucked from the mother the remains of the milk left by his youngest brother."

3. See above, p. 222 /untranslated/.

428 /654 cont./
587 brother-in-law none fulfills these two conditions, she becomes
171 free and may marry an outsider if she so desires (3). /655/ In
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[113] 3. The custom that the widow of the older brother goes to the younger brother, but the widow of the younger brother becomes free is also found among the Samoyed of the Turukhansk region (Krivoshapkin", "Eniseisk. okr. /The Yenisei District/," Zap. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., 1863, I, Res. and Mat., p. 178. Tret'iakov", "Turukhansk. krai /The Turukhansk Region/," Zap. Russk. Geogr. Obshch. Po obshch. Geogr., Vol. 1, 1869, p. 403), among the Yakut (Sauer, Kap. Billing's Geogr. astronom. Reise nach den nördl. Geg. Russlands, p. 164), and other Siberian peoples.

428 171 In principal, therefore, the Gilyak law of inheritance is very similar to that of the Koryak, though still a few degrees more unfavorable for the female sex.

614 602 628 While we saw above that among the Gilyak the paternal relatives enjoy rights that are not available to the maternal relatives, on the other hand, they also have obligations which the latter do not have and which more than ever characterize them as blood relatives. This obligation appears with the practice of blood revenge prevailing among the Gilyak. Like all primitive peoples, the Gilyak, too, adhere to the principle that every act of bloodshed committed against a human being requires retaliation in likewise bloody fashion, either by himself or by his relatives. And they believe no less firmly that if this requirement is not met, the person or persons guilty of the omission are bound to be punished by misfortune, all kinds of hardship, or even death. This notion, generally widespread among them, exerts a powerful, decisive, and enduring influence upon the behavior of both parties, the active as well as the passive one, in committing acts of bloodshed. It is in the interest of the attacker to commit his act from ambush in as unexpected and startling a manner as possible,

/677 cont./

805 184 Tymy Gilyak shift the designations current on the Amur for January, February, and March one month ahead -- a shift for which I could not find an explanation. According to the sound 805 184 825 of the word, tscham-long (January or February) means eagle-month, karr-long (February or March) crow-month, since the former seems to be named after the white-tailed eagle (Haliaëtos albicilla), and the latter after the raven-crow (Corvus corone). Both birds play a not unimportant role in the superstitious ideas [439] of the Gilyak, and the former, moreover, also in their trade with the Japanese (1), but it is a mystery to me why these particular months are named after them. During the winter the white-tailed eagle even leaves the mainland and northernmost part of the Gilyak territory because of the lack of fish for its special diet, and at this time of year it holds out only on the northern coasts of the Sea of Japan, where the ice is often broken up by storms, and in the interior of Sakhalin along the upper Tymy River which does not freeze in winter (2). There the white-tailed eagle is indeed an impressive sight in the midst of the snowy landscape at a temperature falling below the freezing point of mercury. But in this respect January and February are alike, and the shift of the designation current on the Amur for the former month to the latter one by the Tymy Gilyak is not explained at all by this. Could it be that the name "eagle month" is foreign, perhaps of Chinese 000 origin (3)? In the Tymy Valley I heard January called klu-long --

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1. See pp. 668, 669, and 883 above.

2. See pp. 226 and 227 of Vol. I of this work.

805 825 171 113 3. Among the Chulyma Tatars and the Baraba inhabitants March is called "eagle month" (kutschugen-ai and kutschigar-ai, resp.) Falk, Beytr. zur topograph. Kenntn.

/677 cont./

805 3. (cont.)
825 des Russ. Reiches /Contribution to the
171 Topographical Knowledge of the Russian
•113 Empire/, Vol. III, St. Petersburg, 1786,
pp. 557 and 539), just as among the
Samoyed of the great tundra (lembi-jirij;
see A. G. Schrenck, Reise nach dem Nordosten
des europ. Russlands /Journey to the Northeast
of European Russia/, Dorpat, 1848, Vol. I,
p. 537, where the eagle arrives as the earliest
migratory bird, January among the Ostjak
(Falk, op. cit., p. 466).

805 In the Tymy Valley I heard January called Klu-long--
184 a designation which Glehn, obviously erroneously, like the one for
114 December (anj -long), ascribes to November. According to my information, on the other hand, the name customary on the mainland and along the west coast of Sakhalin for the last-named month, tlo-long, is transferred to December by the Tymy and Tro Gilyak, with which Glehn, who calls it tschlo-long, seems to agree, and which would be quite analogous to the aforementioned shifting of names. The name anj-long, i.e., "year month," or perhaps "year-closing month," which I heard the Amur Gilyak use for December, may be easily explained by the observation, which presumably did not escape them either, that in this month the sun reaches its lowest position above the horizon and from then on begins to climb again. Finally the most fluctuating and uncertain name is arkail, which remains unintelligible to me and which, according to my information is supposed to designate April on the mainland and on the west coast of Sakhalin, June in the interior and along the east coast of the island, but, according to Glehn's inquiries, May. The last two assertions, however, are evidently based on an error, for they contradict the events of Nature which the Gilyak themselves mentioned to me as characteristic for the
805 individual months. Thus, they said /678/ that arkail-long (April) is the month when the ice breaks up on the Amur, May -- the one

533 /680 cont./sometimes, when it lasted too long for me, I
513 myself, or more often my men, put a stop to it. The Gilyak,
[123] however, are perfectly accustomed to this disturbance of the
night's rest, and I never heard them raise an objection to it. It
533 is the same among the other natives of the lower Amur region,
513 Olcha, Samagir, Goldi (1), only among them the call of ga urging
171

[113] 1. On the other hand, the Siberian Tungus who accompanied Erman on his voyage from Yakutsk to Okhotsk liked to sing in the daytime, but when he once asked them to repeat their songs in the evening by the fire, they explained unanimously and with a sort of religious awe that it was sinful to sing at night (Erman, Reise um die Erde, Histor. Bericht /Journey around the World, Historical Report/, Vol. II, p. 354). Perhaps the Russians taught them this so as not to be disturbed during their night's rest.

the continuation of the song is replaced by a nasal kä, kä (2).

[113] 2. Brylkin ("Pis'ma s" Sakhal. /Letters from Sakhalin/," Zap., Sibirsk. Otd. Georg. Obshch., Bk. VII, Irkutsk, 1864, p. 29) relates that an Ainu in the village of Tschikapergunai, after drinking sake, had begun to sing a song, an improvisation about his voyage. As soon as he stopped, all the Ainu called out in unison the words kä, kä, i.e., more, more, in order to make him keep on singing, and so it went on endlessly. Hooper (Ten months among the Tents of the Tuski, London, 1853, p. 137) similarly reports that the Chukchee, as spectators at such performances as dancing, imitations of the Eskimo, etc., which take place among them, express their approval with the words kah! kah!, which means the same as da capo.

/698 cont./

231 hind legs. After this the other boards on top of the cage are removed, and the bear is dragged by a number of people into the yurt, where the dogs' table found in the middle of it has meanwhile been removed. Since one cannot depend on merely the leather noose thrown around the neck of the animal, if it is full-grown, a Gilyak now jumps in front of the bear with legs apart, seizes it by the roots of the ears, and presses its head against the floor. Simultaneously two other Gilyak armed with wooden poles do the same thing with its front paws, and now still another jumps on the back of the animal, straddles it, and puts a collar on it, from which, by means of a revolving ring, long iron chains and leather straps run in two directions. With these the bear, after its hind legs have once more been unfettered and, roaring loudly, it has stood erect, is now tied between the two central posts of the yurt in such a way that it can comfortably lie down and get up again. As a reward, so to speak, or as a token of fondness a few slices of jukola or seal fat are then given to it, whereupon it is led around the inside of the house several times and then back to its cage.

114 231 175 Undoubtedly this Gilyak custom of keeping bears in captivity, occasionally bringing them into their houses, and treating them in the manner described has given rise to the legend, very widespread in Siberia, that they tame bears and use them as domestic animals for riding and driving. In a Russian document about the Amur stemming from the seventeenth century and published by Spasskij (2) ("Skazanie o velikoi riekie Amurie /Story about the Great Amur River/"), it is said: "on a large island (Sakhalin) lying opposite the mouth of the river live the Gilyak peoples, who keep 500-1000 dogs in their villages, eat all kinds

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[113] 2. In his article, "Sviedieniia Russk. o riekie Amurie v" XVII. stol. /The Russians' Knowledge about the Amur River in the Seventeenth Century/," in Viestn. Imp. Russk. Geograf. Obshch., Pt. VII, 1853, Sec. II, Res., p. 20.

/698 cont./

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175 of animals, and feed bears for peaceful work" (3). At the beginning Spasskij did not want to give any credence to the latter statement, both on account of its strangeness and from the lack of any other confirmation. But in the "Copy of a Sketch from the Siberian Country" (Spisok" s" chertezha Sibirskiia zemli) published by him in 1849, it is said explicitly: "The Gilyak people sow no grain, eat fish, and drive or ride on /699/ bears" (*Gilyanskie lyudi khlyeba ne syeyut", pitayutsya ryboyu, a yezdyat"* (1) *na medvyedyakh"*). Witsen also found the same legend, that at the mouth of the Amur River "lives a savage people, called Gilaki, who keep many bears and dogs in order to utilize their services" (2). Finally, it is also found in Strahlenberg (3), for it says there: "at the mouth of the Amur River lives a people whom the Russians call Kilaki; some 'Yakut Tatars' have related to me about these people that they tame bears and use them as we do horses" (4).

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3. In the original the latter passage reads: *"i medvyedei kormyat" v" ulusakh" dlya raboty mirno."*

[192] 1. The Russian verb, *yezdit'*, means both "to drive" and "to ride."

2. Witsen, *Noord- en Oost Tartarye* /Northern and Eastern Tartary/, 1705, p. 884.

● [113] 3. *Das Nord- und Ostliche Theil von Europa und Asia* /The Northern and Eastern Part of Europe and Asia/, Stockholm, 1730, pp. 386, 387.

4. Witsen (*op. cit.*, p. 686) was also told

/714 cont./

*796 asked him to invite to his house this time instead a friend of mine
114 ("amal," as the Gilyak say), namely, Mr. von Ditmar, and, as his companion, Mr. von Brevern, who was well-known to us. The
[126] former promised me to keep a faithful journal concerning the
[127] further course of the bear festival in Tebach, and the latter -- to make sketches of it -- a promise that both gentlemen kept, having put at my disposal the highly rewarding material which they brought back from Tebach (1).

● [113] 1. Mr. C. v. Ditmar, now unfortunately deceased (since April, 1892), is the famous explorer of Kamchatka and the author of the work, Reisen und Aufenthalt in Kamtschatka /Journeys and Sojourn in Kamchatka/ (see Beiträge zur Kennt. des Russ. Reiches, Series 3, Vol. VII).

*796 When, on January 27 (February 7), at eight o'clock in the
824 morning, Ditmar and Brevern arrived in Tebach and entered Judin's house, they found the dogs' table removed and the floor in the whole middle area of the house thickly covered with fir branches (again from Picea ajanensis, Gilyak twisk). In front of the second center-post of the house, standing opposite the bear hearth and near the bench of honor, stood a large, four-cornered rack profusely decorated likewise with fir branches, young fir trees, and curled wood-shavings (zach), and made out of alder poles, the trunks of small young trees, which, according to ancient custom, must always be unpeeled and tied together at the intersections only
*796 with bast and the yarn of old fish-nets. From the uppermost shelf of this étagère-like rack, the unskinned heads of the two bears belonging to Judin looked down, as it were, into the yurt and upon the people in it, but the rest of the skins, except for /715/ the toes, claws, and soles, hung down to the ground behind the rack (1). On

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[126] 1. See Plate XLIX /p. 1249/. Because of the above-mentioned hindrances that the Gilyak

4:Ivanov et al. E-4 (no date) 1964 RX2 Gilyak RX2

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